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OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

VOLUME LXX

PRINTED AT OXFORD

BY FREDERICK HALL FOR

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

AND SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON

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I.—*The Wardrobe and Household Accounts of Bogo de Clare*, A.D. 1284–6.

By M. S. Giuseppi, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read 23rd January 1919.

Bogo de Clare, whose private expenditure forms the subject of the present paper, was a son of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and a younger brother of Gilbert who succeeded his father in those earldoms in 1261.[1]

Bogo was an ecclesiastic, and his career in the church has furnished our Fellow, Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, in an article on *Pluralism in the Medieval Church*[2], with his most striking example of the *persona sublimis*, the nobleman, for whom jointly with the *persona literata* power of dispensation from Pope Innocent III's constitution against pluralism (*De multa providentia*) had been reserved to the apostolic see. Bogo's earliest appearance in the Chancery rolls as a clerk is on 25th August 1259, when he was presented to the church of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford.[3] On 10th September following he was collated to the deanery of Stafford.[4] In 1265 he received a grant of the prebend of Masham and was collated to the church of Howden, co. York.[5] Thenceforward his extraordinary acquisition of one benefice after another may be traced in the records of the English and papal chanceries and in the registers of the many dioceses in which he held those benefices. Mr. Thompson has shown that by 1280 he was the greatest pluralist in this country. Within the next two or three years he obtained yet more benefices, making twenty in all.

Of church dignities which he acquired in addition to the deanery of Stafford and the prebend of Masham already noticed, he held in 1275 a canonry at Exeter[6]

[1] The Latin name Bogo has been englished in the most recent Calendars prepared by the Public Record Office as Bevis. This rendering is opposed to the theories of Mr. W. H. Stevenson (*Complete Peerage*, new ed. vol. iii, App. C, pp. 605–6), who contends that in English Bogo should be Bewes. In the Anglo-Norman form in which I find our hero's name it is spelt *Boeghes*, which seems to support Mr. Stevenson's contention. Bovo and Bozo or Boso are Latin variants. Bono is probably due to an easy mistaking of *u* for *n* in medieval script. In the light of what we know of Bogo de Clare, the suggestion in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (x, 395) that he was called Bono 'the good' is unhappy.

[2] *Assoc. Archit. Societies' Reports*, xxxiii, 35–73.

[3] Pat. R. 42 Hen. III, m. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Pat. R. 50 Hen. III, ms. 46, 42.

[6] *Register of W. Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter* (ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph), p. 147.

and in 1294 another at Chichester.[1] In 1285 he was made treasurer of St. Peter's, York.[2] In 1287 as chancellor of Llandaff we find him opposing the election of Philip de Stanton to the bishopric.[3]

In 1294, amongst the grantees of the letters of protection given to the clergy in return for a tax of half their yearly revenues, Bogo de Clare appears in respect of his two canonries of Chichester and York, of nine churches, and of medieties of two others.[4] He is surpassed, however, by his friend, Ralph de Hengham, the celebrated chief justice, who appears as the parson of fourteen churches, but, as Mr. Thompson points out, it is certain that in Bogo's case the list of his livings is not complete.

The date of his last letters of protection was 18th October 1294. Within ten days of this date he was dead.[5] In this year, says the writer of the *Flores Historiarum*, died Sir Bogo de Clare, 'multarum rector ecclesiarum vel potius incubator'.[6] According to the chronicler of Lanercost, who gives an amusing account of Bogo's neglect of his spiritual cares and his personal extravagance, his death occurred during the feast of All Saints.[7]

In more secular affairs of life Bogo's grasping character stands out in the public records no less clearly.[8] Perhaps the best-known instances of his arrogance are those recorded in the Parliament Roll of 1290, when his conduct in arresting the earl of Cornwall in Westminster Hall on the latter's way to the council resulted in his temporary committal to the Tower and subsequent fine to the crown of 2,000 marks.[9] In the second charge brought against him at the same parliament Bogo's household was directly implicated, and I shall have occasion to refer to this later. Bogo's reputation for avarice must have died hard, for twenty years after his death it was stated at the inquisition on the death of his nephew, the last Clare earl of Gloucester, that a certain tenement in Llangibby had come into the earl's hands through the extortion of Bogo de Clare.[10]

Such was the man whose domestic expenditure for about a couple of years

[1] Pat. R., 22 Edw. I, m. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, 13 Edw. I, m. 5.

[3] Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cath. Ch. of Llandaff*, pp. 120–4.

[4] Pat. R., 22 Edw. I, ms. 7, 6*d*. [5] *Ibid.*, m. 2.

[6] Ed. Rolls Series, iii, 93. In 1282 Archbishop Peckham had accused Bogo of being a ravisher (*raptor*) of churches rather than a rector (*Reg. J. Peckham*, ed. Rolls Series, i, 371, 372).

[7] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Bannatyne Club, i, 158. It is certain, however, that Bogo was dead by 28th October. I am indebted to Mr. Hamilton Thompson for this reference.

[8] See for instance *Rot. Hundred.* (ed. Record Comm.), ii, 35, 805, and *Plac. de Quo Warranto*, p. 810. For the part Bogo played in protecting his family's interests when the fortunes of his brother, the earl, were under a cloud see the inquisitions on the death of Gilbert's widow Joan (*Calendar Inquis. p.m.*, iv, 326).

[9] *Rot. Parl.* (ed. Record Comm.), i, 17. For the later proceedings see Close R., 19 Edw. I, m. 10, and Fine R. of same year, m. 18.

[10] Inquis. p.m., Edw. II, file 43, no. 42.

the documents now to be described enable us to estimate. These documents belong to that collection of once private muniments of the de Clare family which has long been amongst the records of the Exchequer.[1] They are now included in the class known as 'Accounts Various' and are eight in number, seven of them being in the subdivision of this class termed 'Clare Household' and one, not identified in the official list as a Clare document, in the unclassified miscellanea towards the end of the class.

The accounts are clearly classified as Wardrobe and Household, and are evenly divided between these two categories, one of the former being, however, in duplicate. The present arrangement observes neither this classification nor the proper chronological order of the documents, which, owing to the method of dating by the days of the week, with the occasional mention of a church feast, and never by the days of the month, is, at least in the case of the household accounts, not readily apparent. Some preliminary explanation of the documents is therefore necessary to a better understanding of their relation to each other.

The Wardrobe accounts only are printed here and are the more important of the two. For the household account is either made out by the keeper of the wardrobe himself and its balance brought into his wardrobe account, or by some other officer of the household for the most part financed by him.

The earliest of Bogo's extant wardrobe accounts is that of Abel de Horkeley from 14th June 1284 to 2nd March 1285.[2] It is, however, not a true 'compotus', but merely a list of the receipts and expenditure of the office during this period without any attempt to add them up, still less to balance them. No marginal titles are used, and what little classification of the payments has been attempted shows all that want of scientific precision which is so characteristic of the medieval mind. The roll is plainly a preliminary stage in the preparation of a final account, which is not now forthcoming.

The accountant refers to five separate rolls he has made of the expenses of the household (*familia*), either in London or on some of its migrations. In the case of four of these he enters separately in his main wardrobe account the total shown on the front of each and that on the dorse, the latter always as the expenses incurred 'pro Garderoba'. He mentions also several payments he has made to other officers of the household for the expenses of the lord or his servants on their various journeys. Of the employment of these moneys separate accounts would have been rendered, but three only of the 'household' rolls which come roughly within the period of the wardrobe account are now extant.

Unfortunately the apparent want of method by which two of these rolls have been made up, perhaps, to judge from the early numbering and re-numbering of

[1] See *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 145, 146.

[2] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 4. See Appendix I.

the several skins, at their first rendering, and the very mutilated condition of the third make the question of their exact relation to the main account somewhat perplexing. The first in point of date covers the period between 1st May and 5th December 1284,[1] and is an account chiefly by Walter de Reyny, the most important of Bogo's accounting officers with whom we have to deal, of the daily expenses of his lord's household on its various migrations about England and Wales. It consists of two membranes which are numbered respectively 'viij^{us}' and 'ix^{us}', the missing seven membranes being probably accounted for by the statement at the head of the first, 'Walterus de Langel' . vj. pecias et . j . cedulam'. The account follows the customary medieval form, each day's household expenses, i.e. food and drink, kitchen and stable (*marescalcia*), being separately totalled.[2] On the dorse of each membrane *pari passu* with the entries on the face are a number of very miscellaneous but interesting items of expenditure which are described collectively as belonging to the wardrobe (*garderoba*).

The second[3] of the three household rolls offers more difficulty, for it consists of several membranes (including 'cedulae' six in all) forming rough materials for a longer account in more final form, of which, as we shall see, the roll just described was to form a part. Walter de Reyny is the accountant throughout, and the main part of the roll is his account of his employment of a sum of £20 he had received from Adam de Horkeley, the payment of which will be found duly entered in the latter's wardrobe account, on Bogo's expenses in his journey from Leicester on 12th October 1284, to meet the king in Wales, and the journey thence to England, finally arriving at Barnet on the following 2nd November.[4] Reyny, after totalling the household items on the face of this account and the wardrobe items on the dorse, shows a balance of £3 1*s.* 10½*d.* in hand. This balance, however, he has subsequently struck through, together with the entries showing how it was arrived at and the entry of the receipt of the £20, evidently because he intended the account to be only a part of a larger one extending from 1st May 1284 until the date, 12th March 1285, on which he himself became keeper of the wardrobe. Of this account we have apparently the draft commencement on a single membrane attached to this roll. It contains all Reyny's receipts within the longer period, including the £20 from Horkeley. The total of these is £59 12*s.* 8*d.* Now if we examine the rough workings at the end of the account of the Welsh journey we shall find that after considerable correction Reyny has set down his total expenses between 1st May 1284 and 12th March

[1] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 2.

[2] Compare amongst household accounts of the period already printed those of the countess of Leicester (ed. Roxburghe Club, 1841) and of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford (ed. Camden Soc., 1854).

[3] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 5.

[4] The two membranes of this account are numbered in a contemporary hand 'x^{us}' and 'xi^{us}', perhaps in continuation of those in Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 2.

1285 as £66 13*s.* 3¾*d.*, and as £7 0*s.* 7¾*d.* in excess of his receipts, thereby making the latter accord with the total already stated. In the case of the expenses we do not now possess all the materials to enable us to check Reyny's total. One other small item towards them we have on another membrane attached to this same roll, the account, namely, of Reyny's expenses with Bogo and his household on a journey from Llangibby (Tregruk') to Salisbury between 26th and 29th September.

The third household roll contemporary with Horkeley's wardrobe account, though it has now become isolated from the Clare Accounts and indeed is in a sadly mutilated and barely legible condition, proves to be the only one now forthcoming of the five separate rolls which Horkeley states that he has made of the expenses of the household (*familia*) either in London or on some of its migrations. It is the account of the household's journey from London to Melton Mowbray just before Christmas 1284.[1]

The last definite date given by Reyny's daily expenses of the household in Exchequer Accounts, bundle 91, no. 2, is 5th December 1284, but following this are some undated items of the expenses of himself and two others in London for four days to receive the lord's wardrobe from Ralph de Siccavilla. Reyny tells us that it was on St. Gregory's day (12th March), 1284–5, that he became keeper of the wardrobe (*garderobarius*), and his first account in respect of that office, the second of Bogo de Clare's extant wardrobe accounts, is dated from that day.[2] There is thus an interval of ten days between the close of Horkeley's account and the beginning of Reyny's for which we have no account of the wardrobe. Of Siccavilla's precise connexion with it we know nothing more. He was one of the regular members of Bogo's establishment, probably a clerk, for he is styled 'dominus' in common with Horkeley and others who help to carry out their master's more spiritual functions as well as his temporal business; he receives ten marks for his robes and goes on various missions; but his brief charge of the wardrobe was probably only due to Horkeley's absence from London on some other service.

In Reyny's first wardrobe account we have a very different production from the incomplete draft that is all that remains of Horkeley's. It is endorsed 'the final account' and is set out with considerable elaboration, the work of a practised scribe, whose name, William de Horton, clerk, we know, for he was paid 3*s.* for the task. The elaborate tabulation on the dorse of the roll of the liveries, followed by a second table in which they are balanced against the purchases, was perhaps thought unnecessary for it was not repeated on a subsequent occasion. Nevertheless, the want of method in classifying the items of expenditure shows

[1] Exch. Accounts, bundle 506, no. 5.
[2] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 3. See Appendix II.

little advance on the methods of the previous accountant. 'Expense' is used as the heading for a number of items of very different nature. A special heading is adopted for ginger in which several sorts of sugar are included. Yet both articles reappear later under the heading spices.

The account covers the period from 12th March to Michaelmas Day 1285. Against the total receipts amounting to £672 10*s.* 7*d.* it shows a total expenditure on account of the wardrobe of £488 19*s.* 11½*d.*, to which Reyny has added his household expenses during the same period, bringing up the grand total to £688 14*s.* 4¼*d.* with a consequent deficit of £16 3*s.* 9¼*d.*

Part of the account showing these household expenses is in existence.[1] This is headed '℗Expense Domus facte per manus . Walteri . de Rey . a festo sancti Gregorii . anno domini . M°.CC. lxxx . quarto . vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis . proxime . sequens'. It should therefore coincide with the whole period of the wardrobe account. But the roll as it exists at present has evidently been made up from three separate accounts, of some part of which another than Reyny was the accountant, and it is not clear whether the items in this part were eventually brought into Reyny's account.[2] The first day accounted for on the roll is described as Wednesday after the Translation of St. Richard of Chichester, which coming after St. Gregory's day (12th March), 1284–5, should give us 20th June 1285. But the Sunday following was the quindene of Easter, i.e. in 1285 8th April. Clearly the scribe has mistaken the original feast-day of the saint (3rd April) for the date of his translation.[3] The former will give us 4th April for the commencing date of the account, and on this calculation there is no difficulty in fitting in the other saints' days mentioned in the account, which finally closes with Thursday in the vigil of St. Margaret (i.e. 19th July), 1285. Between these two extreme dates the periods from 20th April to 9th May and from 2nd to 14th June are unaccounted for on this roll.

Between Michaelmas and Christmas 1285 no account now exists of Bogo's wardrobe or household. The last extant wardrobe account begins on Christmas Day and is continued to Whit-Sunday following, namely 2nd June 1286.[4] Reyny

[1] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 1.

[2] Ms. 1 and 2, the latter of which has a contemporary numbering 'ij^{us}' and is described as J. Tygre's account, are totalled together on the dorse. Ms. 3, 4, and 5, numbered respectively 'ij^{us}', 'iij^{us}', and 'iiij^{us}', are similarly totalled together, m. 3 being endorsed 'Secundus Rotulus Expensarum domus per Manus . W. de Reyni London'. This same membrane is prefaced, however, with the note that Reymund de Sulye accounted previously. M. 6 is endorsed 'Tercius Rotulus', etc., and its items are finally totalled with those on ms. 7 and 8, the three being respectively numbered 'v^{us}' (corrected from 'iiij^{us}'), 'vj^{us}', and 'vij^{us}'. Possibly the fact that the first membrane of Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 2 is numbered 'viij^{us}' accounts for the present incorrect arrangement of the documents.

[3] According to Walsingham the bishop's translation had taken place on 16th June so recently as the year 1276 (*Hist. Anglic.*, ed. Rolls series, i, 16).

[4] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, nos. 6 and 7. See Appendix III.

is still in charge and was so doubtless during the missing period, for his master's debt to him when he opens this account has risen to £228 19*s.* 8*d.* His receipts during the little more than five months of the account amount to £564 2*s.* 0*d.* and his wardrobe expenses to £393 5*s.* $0\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, making with the sum already due to him £622 4*s.* $8\frac{3}{4}$*d.* The expenses of the household, for no part of which is any account now forthcoming, are entered as £317 0*s.* 4*d.* Bogo de Clare has thus, at the time that our intimate knowledge of his financial affairs ceases, allowed his chief accounting officer to outrun the constable by no less a sum than £375 3*s.* $0\frac{3}{4}$*d.*

The account is set out with much the same care as the preceding one, but there is a rather more simple classification of the items of expenditure and less recurrence of the vague heading 'expense', though it still appears all too frequently. Perhaps the chief interest of the account from the archivist's point of view is that it exists in duplicate. The items as set out in each are in agreement, but there are some differences of phrasing and spelling between the two. We do not possess in this case the names of the scribes, and we cannot say with certainty that this duplication of the account was a new departure, though from the fact that in the previous case the cost of the parchment was 1*s.* only and in the later account as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* we may infer that it was. There are other indications that Reyny was progressive in his methods, and perhaps either he or his master felt that they could carry still further their imitation of royal practice by appointing to a wardrobe, already modelled on that of the king's household, a controller or keeper of a counter-roll.

It is clear that we do not possess all the accounts and vouchers of Bogo de Clare's wardrobe and household that his auditors must have had before them at any single audit within the short period of barely two years covered by the extant documents. Consequently, whatever deductions we may venture to make from them as to the probable amount of his revenues, his social and business relations and his general way of life must be qualified by this consideration. Nevertheless, the accounts as they now exist are voluminous enough and throw much interesting light on a variety of phases of late thirteenth-century life, which I shall consider under certain subject-headings. Many of these headings, however, I can do little more here than indicate, reserving for more detailed inquiry those points which appear to demand greater elucidation. Two of the household accounts it may be remarked furnished the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne with the materials for the first of his articles on 'Illustrations of Domestic Manners during the reign of Edward I',[1] and he printed a few extracts from

[1] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xviii (1862), pp. 66–75. The accounts he used were those now numbered Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, nos. 2 and 1, which he treated in their correct

them. He does not appear to have been aware of the wardrobe and remaining household accounts, and was completely ignorant of the identity of Bogo de Clare.

The Wardrobe and London House of Bogo de Clare. The important part which the wardrobe appears to play as the financing department of Bogo de Clare's household is interesting, and may perhaps be attributed to the intimate relations which must have existed between the de Clares and Edward I. For the keeper of the king's wardrobe at this period not only exercised general control over all the private expenditure of his sovereign but also over the finances of such national concerns as the army, the navy, and the diplomatic service, and had not yet been subjected to Exchequer audit. In Bogo's case this extension of the original functions of the wardrobe may have occurred within the period of our accounts, though the evidence is insufficient to make any positive assertion on this point possible. The influence of the wardrobe, however, over other departments of his household does appear somewhat more marked in the later accounts of Reyny than in those of his predecessor in office. In neither of the printed private household accounts of the period, to which reference has been already made, those namely of the countess of Leicester twenty years earlier in date and those of Bishop Swinfield some four or five years later than Bogo's, is a like significance of the wardrobe discernible, but neither the wife of the great Simon de Montfort, although the daughter of an English king, nor the bishop of a remote diocese could be expected to be versed in the current ways of royalty.

Bogo's wardrobe building was in London and formed part of his house there, of which we have the details of considerable repairs in Reyny's account for 1285. These repairs, which cost in all £6 7*s.* 2½*d.*, were going on under Reyny's direction whilst Bogo was away at his living of Thatcham between 18th April and 10th May, and were doubtless in preparation for the sumptuous entertainment, immediately upon his return on the latter date, of Sir Edmund Mortimer and his numerous other friends and retainers.[1] From one item in Reyny's last account we have a clue to the whereabouts of this house. 'In carriage of the lord's furniture (*harnesii*) of his wardrobe to his house next the Trinity, twice after Easter, 13½*d.*' The Trinity is in all probability the priory of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, for it seems clear from the account of the obit of Bogo's servant, John de Worteley, that it was in the church of that priory that his body lay.[2] The wardrobe account shows that a cloth of gold was presented to the church of the Holy Trinity 'pro Iohanne de Worteleg' mortuo'.

Robes and Textiles. The items concerned with the purchase and livery

order. The identification of Bogo was subsequently supplied by a Mr. Wakeman in the same volume of the *Journal* at pp. 372, 373.

[1] See Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 1.

[2] *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journal*, xviii, 74.

of the robes, the primary business of the wardrobe, naturally fill a large space in the accounts. These items deserve close study, but comment here must be restricted to the less known materials and to the light which the documents throw upon their nature. Cameline, for instance, is a material as to whose quality and nature the excellent *Drapers' Dictionary* leaves us in doubt. Here it appears as *Camelinum de Triple*, Tripoli probably, and is used for lining worsted garments for Bogo de Clare and Sir Edmund Mortimer. This supports the view that it was of North African origin and of inferior quality. *Cangium* is a material as to which the same authority is silent, but according to Du Cange it was a cloth of a dark colour shot with another of lighter hue like taffeta. Bogo has a tunic of it, and a cushion of two cloths of rayed or striped 'cangy' are made for his use. It was bought 'of the merchants', meaning probably those of Lucca or Florence. Sindon is another doubtful material, the term appearing to vary in significance at different periods. Considerable quantities of it of various shades of red and green were bought from the Lucchese merchants in 1285 and 1286, its price being between 10*d.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* the ounce or 6*s.* 8*d.* and 13*s.* 4*d.* the piece. It was used for the covering of mattresses and pillows, for *gardecorsata* (waistcoats or corsets), and for the binding of Bogo's robes. It was probably a silken material, the price of silk thread being much the same per ounce.

Of furs large quantities are bought. The commonest mentioned is budge (*boga*) or lambskin, of which the capes were made. Master Robert the doctor has a squirrel fur to wear with his blue gown and a cape of 'strell', a fur I do not know, but perhaps identical with 'stralling' which occurs in Bishop Swinfield's accounts. Bogo's two knights are provided with four furs which are probably minever.

The accounts of the making of the cushions and mattresses and the materials used for their upper (*directum*) and under (*indirectum*) sides, for their borders and fringes, are extraordinarily minute. For the stitching of one of them a house had to be hired, and the master who superintended the work had 40*s.* for his fee.

A number of carpets and *banquaria* (rugs for the seats or benches) are bought. One carpet with shields of the arms of the king of England costs 20*s.*, and four, semée with white luces, 26*s.* each. They were never of course meant for the floors, for the covering of which the household accounts provide rushes.

Food and Drink. We need not linger over these items, which are mainly the matter of the household accounts and have already been dealt with to some extent by Mr. Hartshorne. Attention, however, may be directed to the great variety of the spices which are a special province of the wardrobe. They were mostly bought of Thomas the Roman (*le Romayn*). Included under this head is sugar which costs from 8*d.* to 10*d.* the pound, a special sort made of roses and

violets being purchased for the Ascension-day feast, as are six pomegranates at 1*s.* each and a gourd of ginger at 20*s.* The frail (*fraellum*), the measure by which figs and raisins are bought, is usually stated by the authorities to have been 70 pounds, but its price (4*s.* 6*d.*), with the fruit at 1½*d.* the pound, reduces it here to 36 pounds. For storing the spices boxes, sacks, or sheepskin pouches are bought.

Jewels and Plate. Gold rings ranging in price from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* are bought in considerable quantity for presents. A gold brooch given to Sir William de Carleton's clerk costs 6*s.* 8*d.* Purchases of cups of silver or silver-gilt, also usually intended for presents, are frequent. There are a few items of repairs to old plate. 'In augmentation of two old dishes of the weight of four pounds, £2 5*s.* 10*d.*; repairing the same with gold shields and enamel, £1.' 'For making anew four silver dishes and four saucers out of four old dishes and five saucers, 8*s.* 6*d.*' Leather cases (*cophini*) are bought for the silver dishes, spoons, and cups.

Horses and Horse-furniture. The number of horses in the stables with the cost of their fodder and of farriery appears towards the end of each day's items in the household accounts, sometimes under the general heading 'marescalcia'. The purchase of horses is recorded in the wardrobe accounts.

Some of the items concerned with the provision of saddles and horse-furniture are of interest. Historically the most interesting are the gilt saddle bought for Bogo's use in 1286 and the twelve other saddles for his fellows with the arms of Gaston de Béarn. In addition to the price paid for Bogo's saddle, which was 15*s.*, the embroidering of it with the said arms cost 20*s.* The erstwhile implacable opponent of English rule in Gascony had been brought to final surrender in 1275,[1] but one wonders as to his precise relations with the de Clares in 1286. Possibly they had long found a bond of mutual sympathy in their common opposition to the great Simon de Montfort. At all events, so long before as the year 1269, Bogo's brother Thomas appears directly associated with Gaston de Béarn amongst the guarantors of Prince Edward for the fulfilment of a covenant with the king of France.[2]

Games and Amusements. Hunting is the only form of sport in which we find Bogo de Clare taking part, and that on two occasions only, namely at Blechingley in Surrey in 1284 or early in 1285[3] and at Llangibby in September 1285.[4] References to indoor amusements, other than those connected with the pleasures of the table, are also few. 3*s.* was handed out to the lord on Whit-Sunday 1285 wherewith to play at dice,[5] and a set of chessmen (*familia ad*

[1] *Flores Hist.*, p. 407. [2] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (ed. Camden Soc. O. S. 34), p. 113.
[3] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 4, m. 3 (*vide* p. 23 *infra*). [4] *Ibid.*, no. 5, m. 1, ced. 2 *d.*
[5] *Ibid.*, no. 1, m. 3 *d.*

scaccarium) sent to Thatcham in the same year cost 2*d.*[1] Of professional entertainers we have the actors or mummers (*ystriones*). Martinot, who with his brother is so described and received a gift from Bogo of 13*s.* 4*d.*, may perhaps be identified with Martinet of Gascony, the fool (*fatuus*), who in 1300 played before Prince Edward.[2] John Morice, the earl of Cornwall's actor, was paid 6*s.* 8*d.* on 25th May 1285.[3] Included with these entertainers may be William Pilk, the jester (*ioculator*) of Salisbury, to whom 2*s.* was given on the preceding day, and the jester with a horse, who received the like amount on 29th June following.[4] Adam the harper (*cytharista*) appears in the accounts as a regular member of the household, and there are occasional payments to the harpers of Robert de Littlebury and Edmund Mortimer. Of any literary tastes that Bogo de Clare may have had we have not a single indication in these documents.

Travel. The itinerary of Bogo de Clare and his household during the period that they cover must be learnt mainly from the household accounts, and so far as he dealt with these has already been set out by Mr. Hartshorne. Some of the expenses incident to travel are also to be gathered from the wardrobe accounts. Of these, those which relate to foreign voyages are interesting. Thus John de Posewyk gets £4 for his expenses to the Roman *curia*, and Jacobel, who was perhaps his attendant on the occasion, £2 6*s.* 8*d.* For his expenses to France Thomas de Cardolio was given £3 upon his departure on 7th July 1285, and we are told that he spent 4*s.* more which was paid him on his return. A payment of 36*s.* to Cocbretoun (or Cok Bretoun as spelt in a preceding entry) for the passage of Roland, archdeacon of Dol, and Thomas Fox at Dover was presumably in respect of the channel-crossing.

Business Affairs. I have shown how, following royal practice, Bogo de Clare's wardrobe had become his chief, if not sole, business department or secretariat. A chief interest of its extant accounts is therefore the light they throw on the methods by which so notorious a pluralist dealt with the multitude of duties which the possession of so many scattered benefices might be expected to lay upon him. The known opinion of his ecclesiastical contemporaries was that those duties were usually neglected altogether. Such censure seems to have been more particularly deserved in the case of his more northern livings.[5] We hear little of them in the accounts. Bogo's household, when its lord is not entertaining his friends over long periods in London, or off to Wales and the Marches on business with his sovereign or in respect to his own important

[1] *Ibid.*, m. 8 *d.*

[2] *Liber Quotid. Contrarotulatoris Garderobae* (ed. Soc. Antiq. Lond.), p. 166.

[3] Exch. Accounts., bundle 91, no. 1, m. 4 *d.*

[4] *Ibid.*, m. 7 *d.*

[5] See Archbishop Romeyn's letter to Peckham of Feb. 1290-1, quoted by A. Hamilton Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 55, and the chronicler of Lanercost's description of the condition in which he had found Bogo's church at Simonburn (York reg. Romeyn, ed. Surtees Soc., II, xliv, xlv).

property there, or else to Leicester on a pressing legal quest, spends its time migrating between Thatcham in Berkshire and Rotherfield and Oving in Sussex,[1] and only goes so far north as Melton Mowbray to take possession of the newly acquired church there. So far as the spiritual needs of more distant parishes are concerned they can be deputed to the vicars from whom Bogo receives the yearly farms, subject to occasional visitation from the clerks attached to his personal establishment. Items of the expenses incurred by his clerical staff in visiting his various parishes 'pro negotiis domini expediendis' are numerous in the wardrobe accounts, and the largeness of this staff shows clearly the vicarious methods by which he was usually content to administer his more spiritual duties.

How far the payments into his wardrobe represent the total revenues of Bogo de Clare during the periods which the accounts cover cannot unfortunately be determined, in view of the incomplete condition of these accounts and from the fact that we cannot reconstruct from them the state of his finances for the whole of any single year. Romeyn in 1291 estimated the yearly value of Bogo's revenues in the province of York alone to be nearly £1,300, though Mr. Thompson thinks this an over-estimate.[2] The total receipts shown in the three wardrobe accounts for the periods which they respectively cover are: from 14th June 1284 to 2nd March 1285, £592 3*s.* 4*d.*; from 12th March to 29th September 1285, £672 10*s.* 7*d.*; and from 25th December 1285 to 2nd June 1286, £564 2*s.* 0*d.* Amongst the various items it is possible to identify the farms of many of the benefices of which we know him to have been possessed. With the exception of Doncaster his revenues from the northern province are not distinguished, but they and those of others of his known benefices are doubtless represented in the many sums, whose source is not stated, paid in by different members of his household doubtless acting as his travelling collectors. There are also many payments made by the Mozzi, a Florentine firm of merchants whose transactions with the crown about this period are illustrated in Mr. E. A. Bond's paper on the Italian merchants in *Archaeologia*.[3] Some or all of these latter may of course have been loans, and we have one item of the payment to them of 80 marks. On the other hand, the well-known use made of such Italian firms in this country by the papal see to collect its revenues very probably made them convenient agents to pluralists such as Bogo to collect their revenues from distant benefices. From these and other considerations I am inclined to think that the payments into Bogo's wardrobe, at all events in Reyny's time, represent a very substantial portion, if not the whole, of his total revenues.

[1] I take it, although I have no actual proof, that the Oving (Ouinge, Owinge) of the accounts was the prebendal manor of that name in Sussex and held by Bogo in virtue of his stall in Chichester Cathedral. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 55. [3] xxviii, 207–326.

Among the evils mentioned in the legate Ottobuono's constitution of 1268 as likely to be engendered by pluralism is the fostering of lawsuits and hatreds. The amount of legal business in which Bogo de Clare's accounts show him to have been involved suggests that such fears were well founded. Not only have we allusions in them to definite actions pending in the lay and spiritual courts; occasional fees are paid for writs in the King's Chancery[1] and for copies of instruments obtained from the clerks of the Arches in some cause apparently relating to the chapel of Rhymney.[2] Above all there are many indications of the methods whereby Bogo found it expedient to stand well in the eyes of the judges and officials of the various courts. These went considerably beyond the costly banquets which furnish such interesting details in the household accounts. Ralph de Hengham, the celebrated chief justice of the King's Bench, John de Vallibus, William de Saham, and John de Metingham, who were amongst the judges to try the Melton Mowbray case, of which shortly, and Robert de Littlebury, who is with little doubt to be identified with the then clerk of the rolls, appear in the wardrobe accounts amongst the recipients of Bogo's many gifts.[3] Other recipients are Henry the clerk of the writs at the Exchequer, the dean of the Arches and the dean's commissary, the official of the Court of Chancery, James the usher of the Exchequer, and Bocking and Bradefeld, two of the 'narratores', the embryo counsel of that day, in the same court.

The most interesting of the legal proceedings, upon which Bogo de Clare's accounts throw a valuable sidelight as to his methods, are those concerned with the dispute for the church of Melton Mowbray which took place at the assizes at Leicester in the Michaelmas term of 1284. Here the official records in the shape of the Assize Rolls are available to supplement the indirect allusions to the proceedings in the accounts, and in the result we learn of yet another rectory acquired by Bogo with which he does not seem to have been previously credited.

It is unfortunate that the apparently haphazard arrangement of the entries, mostly undated, in Horkeley's wardrobe account makes their correct chronological sequence largely a matter of conjecture. Happily, however, in the present instance the external evidence of the Assize Rolls and the dated entries in Reyny's concurrent household account enable us to set out the events with some approach to their probable order of date.

What we learn from the wardrobe account is that at some date, which we may presume to be a little prior to Michaelmas 1284, Bogo de Clare was much

[1] e.g. Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 5, m. 1 *d.* [2] *Ibid.*, no. 1, m. 8 *d.*

[3] Hengham, Saham, and Littlebury, it is interesting to note, were amongst the king's officers to be tried before the commissioners of 1289 for corruption amongst other charges. *State Trials of the reign of Edward I*, 1289–93 (ed. T. F. Tout and H. Johnstone, Royal Hist. Soc., Camden Series, vol. ix).

interested in some dealings with Sir Roger de Mowbray. £5 was paid to his steward and a similar sum lent to Sir Roger himself. Two of Bogo's clerks, Melkesham and Burnham, were dispatched to the north with two hired horses for the business of Sir Roger. The nature of this business we may guess from an undated item in one of Reyny's accounts:

> Liberate domino Rogero de Moubray pro expensis suis uersus Regem ad recognoscendam conuencionem inter dominum Bogonem et ipsum factam per manus Magistri Willelmi de Burnham precepto domini. x. li'.[1]

Meanwhile other preparations were being made in London where some transaction, presumably of a money nature, was being carried out with the merchants of the earl of Lincoln, and four 'pugillatores' were being maintained for eight days at Bogo's expense 'pro negotiis domini . R. de Montbray'. We have a further reference to an account of the expenses of Horkeley and others of Bogo's household, and of the 'pugillatores', the 'narratores', and many other superveners from Thursday after the octave of Michaelmas and for seventeen days following. Unfortunately this is not extant, and we can only presume that these expenses were incurred at Leicester where the assizes were then in progress.

The 'pugillator' or 'pugilis' was the professional champion in the judicial trial by combat, and it is interesting to add Bogo de Clare to those of the clergy amongst whom this primitive form of trial in pleas upon writs of right was greatly favoured.[2] The well-known contemporary instance of a professional champion maintained by the church is that of Thomas de Bruges, who was originally engaged in 1276 by Bishop Cantelupe of Hereford to oppose the champion of Bogo de Clare's brother, the earl of Gloucester, and whose yearly retaining fee we find Cantelupe's successor, Swinfield, still paying five years after the date of our present accounts.[3] It is curious, therefore, to find Thomas de Bruges's name occurring in the accounts of the earl's brother, and to be able to connect him with the business of the Leicester assizes. There is an item of a payment to him of 20*s.* in London 'pro sua poroffra contra priorem de Lewes', and a further, but incomplete, entry 'for his stay in London making his harness'. He next receives 20*s.* for his expenses to Leicester, and afterwards 13*s.* 4*d.* to go to Oxford.

Turning to the records of these 1284 Leicester assizes, we find that Roger de Mowbray had much business thereat, chiefly concerned with claims to land

[1] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 2, m. 1 *d.*

[2] G. Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, p. 50.

[3] *Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield* (ed. Camden Soc. O. S. 59, pp. 125, 201). Nearly a hundred years later the champion of Robert Wyvill, bishop of Salisbury (d. 1375), figures on the bishop's memorial brass in Salisbury cathedral.

in Melton Mowbray. But the two most important cases to us are those against the prior of Lewes, one for the advowson of the church and the other respecting the ownership of eight virgates of land in Melton Mowbray. The story of the prior of Lewes's loss of an advowson through the failure of his champion in a trial by battle has already appeared in print.[1] It was no doubt his expected resort in the present instance to such a method of deciding the issue that induced Bogo's special preparations. As it happened, however, in the case of the advowson the prior elected to put himself upon the great assize and the jury found against him.[2] But in the other case, that of the eight virgates, the prior did offer to defend his right by the body of his free man, William son of John de Sutton. Roger de Mowbray responded by opposing the body of his free man, Roger son of Robert, and a duel was ordered between the two champions, a day for which was given on the morrow of St. Vincent (23rd January) at Warwick.[3]

The names of the champions as given in the roll are perhaps fictitious. Thomas de Bruges does not appear there as one of the combatants, though he was certainly at Leicester about the time.[4] Nor is it clear why it was necessary to have four of these professional gentlemen on the same side, unless a strong reserve was usual in such cases. Following up the case on the roll of the Warwick assizes of Hilary term, 1285, we find the attorneys of both parties essoined for non-appearance and the duel adjourned to the following term at Westminster.[5] The case seems to have continued some time in an undecided state, for as late as Trinity term, 1286, there is a record on the De Banco roll of an assize whether eight virgates of land in Melton Mowbray were the free alms of the church of which Bogo de Clare was then parson or a lay fee of the prior of Lewes.[6]

This last connexion of Bogo with the church of Melton Mowbray would prove clearly his interest on Roger de Mowbray's behalf in the proceedings at Leicester, even if our own records had left us in any doubt in the matter. From the sequel to the proceedings at the Leicester assizes as related in Reyny's account from 29th October to 5th December 1284,[7] it is permissible to infer that the agreement between Roger de Mowbray and Bogo already mentioned had reference to the latter's presentation to the church of Melton should Roger be successful in his suit against the prior. A rider added to the judgment in the advowson case expressly directs Roger to have his writ to the bishop to admit

[1] *Year Books*, 32-3 Edward I (ed. Rolls Series), p. xl.

[2] Assize Roll, no. 457, m. 8*d*. [3] *Ibid.*, m. 19.

[4] He was still there on 30th October, having probably stayed on since the Assizes. Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 2, m. 2.

[5] Assize Roll, no. 956, m. 30.

[6] De Banco Roll, no. 63, m. 62. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Hamilton Thompson, who owes it, he tells me, to our Fellow Mr. G. F. Farnham.

[7] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 2, m. 2.

a fitting parson to the church on his (Roger's) presentation. It could hardly be expected that the parson in view, being as we know Bogo de Clare, could be actually resident there, so a vicar had to be instituted. This was obviously a matter that Bogo would depute to one or other of his personal staff of clerks. Accordingly, after the assizes on 12th October, he himself set out from Leicester on his own business with the king in Wales, and we cannot be certain that he was even back at Melton with his household when it was keeping Christmas there that year. In the meantime, however, Reyny was dispatched to Melton which he reached on 4th November and made some inquisition upon the church which he took to the bishop of Lincoln. A few days later he again visited the bishop with reference to the institution of the church and appears to have returned to Melton on 2nd December, when he met Mowbray's bailiffs, the chaplain, and others. The next day, which was Sunday, the party was joined by the dean of Framland, many of the parish, and 'eight servants keeping the gates of the church on account of the clerk and chaplain, who were guarding the possession of the vicarage of the same church in the same church, so as not to permit anyone to take food or other necessaries to the aforesaid chaplain or his clerk'. On Monday the officials of the bishop were present, and on the next day, 5th December, Reyny left Melton for London, there to report to Bogo what had been done about the institution of the church.[1]

Bogo de Clare's Establishment. It is impossible in the absence of any such lists of *stipendia* as occur in Bishop Swinfield's accounts to prove an exact estimate of the numbers which composed Bogo de Clare's establishment. That it was a large one, both in lay and clerical members, is evident from the lists of liveries and other items in the accounts. At the head of the lay folk come his two knights, Sir Hugh de Turbervill and Sir William de Monterevelli. There are numerous references to his esquires but we have no clear statement as to their actual number. The daily wages of the grooms (*garciones*) and the pages appear in the household accounts and their respective numbers seem to vary from day to day. Thirteen, however, of the former class and two of the latter would appear from the shoeing items in Reyny's last wardrobe account to constitute the normal staff.

[1] Though Bogo de Clare was certainly in possession of the rectory of Melton Mowbray, it is possible he did not enjoy it for long. The early history of the church, Mr. Hamilton Thompson tells me, is very obscure, but in Hugh Welles's *Matriculus* for the archdeaconry of Leicester, compiled about 1227, it was in two medieties, the prior and convent of Lewes being patrons of both. Was Bogo rector only of one mediety or of both together? In any case by 1295 the prior and convent had appropriated both medieties when there is an institution to the vicarage. Possibly they had already regained their possession of the whole by 14th August 1286 when there was an ordination of the vicarage but, owing to the mutilated condition of Bishop Sutton's roll where this is recorded, it is not possible to say how the church then became vacant.

The most important members of the establishment so far as the accounts are concerned are those who collect their lord's revenues and expend his moneys, undertake his numerous missions, and appear to take it in turns to supervise the affairs of his household. Many of these are clerks, designated with the title *dominus*. Others, such as Robert the cook and Robert the doctor (*medicus*), are termed *magister*.

That Bogo treated his servants well may be inferred from the costly obit with which he was ready to do honour to one of them. That they understood their master well and were ready to serve him in accordance with what they felt would be his own wishes is proved by the incident recorded in the Parliament Roll of 1290. The story, which is well known, records how an unfortunate emissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury with a citation to serve upon Bogo de Clare went to his house in the city of London and in the master's absence was met by some of the household, who, to translate the record, 'by force and against his will made him eat the letters and the appended seals, imprisoned him there, beat and maltreated him'. The incident seems to have caused no little stir, for besides the injury to the unhappy emissary, which was assessed at £20, there were the damages for contempt of Holy Church and the lord the king, which were reckoned at £1,000.[1] Bogo by ingenious pleading was able to obtain a remand, and the case was not finally settled until the Hilary term of 1292–3, when in the King's Bench at Nottingham he was discharged of the fact and of suasion thereto and allowed to go quit.[2]

Such are some of the principal points suggested by the study of these accounts. Only those which belong exclusively to the wardrobe are here printed. They must, however, be considered in relation to those of the household, which are perhaps too lengthy and too repetitive in their nature to need printing in full. But the so-called wardrobe items on the dorse of these latter are of much variety and illustrate many points of social and economic interest. They include, moreover, a number of small details which throw further light on Bogo de Clare's character and personal habits.[3] In them for instance are recorded all his donations in the cause of charity. It must be confessed that those who would seek here for some set-off against the obvious neglect of his spiritual duties are doomed to disappointment. The sums given in alms and oblations are usually trifling and in strong contrast with those he was willing to expend on his own personal interests and pleasures. They seem merely perfunctory and lack the spontaneous appearance of many of those acts of charity which charm us in the accounts of such a man as Bishop Swinfield. It is sadly illuminating

[1] *Rot. Parl.* (ed. Rec. Comm.), i, 24.
[2] *Abbrev. Placitorum* (ed. Rec. Comm.), p. 288.
[3] e.g. the regular weekly payments to the laundress (*lotrici*) for washing the lord's head.

to find at the end of a long list of expenses on such a day as 3rd July 1285, when the food and drink bill of a great banquet comes to as much as £8 6*s.* 0*d.*, with additional payments of 6*s.* 8*d.* to a wafer-maker (the king's by the way), 4*s.* to another, and 5*s.* to a harper, 'on the same day in alms, 1*d.*', the solitary item under this head.[1] When all is said I fear that Bogo de Clare must remain a most striking example at the end of the thirteenth century of a particular type of the clergy, whose worldliness and avarice were to bring their whole order into discredit, and to excite in the succeeding century the bitter invective of a Langland and the good-humoured sarcasm of a Chaucer.

In conclusion I wish to express my deep obligation to Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, F.S.A., for much valuable assistance in the preparation of the foregoing account of Bogo de Clare; and to my colleague Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A., who has expended many hours with me in the examination of the proof sheets of the following documents.

[1] Exch. Accounts, bundle 91, no. 1, ms. 7 and 7 *d.*

APPENDIX I

Exchequer Accounts, Various, bundle 91, no. 4.[1]

14 June, 1284, to 2 March, 1284–5.

Visus Compoti de[2] ℙRecepta dom. Abel de Horkeleye a die Mercurii proxima post festum beati Barnabe Apostoli Anno dom. M° cc° Lxx̊x̊ Quarto usque diem veneris ante Mediam Quadragesimam Anno eodem [*m.* 1]

ℙIn primis de preceptore Hospitalis sancti Johannis de Clerkenewelle Lond'	xL. marce per litteram dom.
ℙItem de fratribus de templo London'	L. s'. per litteram dom.
ℙItem de vicario de Saham	xxxv. marce de termino sancti Johannis Baptiste per litteram dom. W. de Melkesham et dom. Abel'
ℙItem de Waltero de Mollesworth apud Lond'	xlij. marce.
ℙItem de Waltero de Ripariis de firma de Fordingebr'	xxx. li'.
ℙItem de dom. Willelmo de Melkesham London'	xxx. li'. iij. s'. iiij. d'.
ℙItem de eodem	viij. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
ℙItem de eodem	viij. li'.
ℙItem de eodem	x. li'.
ℙItem de eodem	xxx. li'.
ℙItem de eodem	Liij. s'. iiij. d'.
ℙItem de eodem	xxxiiij. li'.
ℙItem de eodem	xlij. li'.
ℙItem de eodem	L. s'.
ℙItem de eodem	C. s'.
ℙItem de eodem.	vj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
ℙItem de eodem	xv. li'.
ℙItem de Mercatoribus de societate Mozorum	Lxx. marce. per litteram dom.
ℙItem ab eisdem	xl. li'. per litteram dom.
ℙItem de Waltero de Stokebi apud Lond'	L. li'. vnde dom. fecit acquietanciam
ℙItem de eodem apud Melton' in vigilia Circumcisionis dom.	C. et xl. marce. per acquietanciam dom.
ℙItem Roberto de Bisshoppestone ibidem	xxxviij. li'. per acquietanciam dom.
ℙItem de Waltero de Ripariis	xij. li'.
ℙItem de eodem	iiij. li'.
ℙItem de dom. Willelmo firmario de Retherefeld	[*blank*]
ℙItem de vicario de Ferenthe	v. marce. de vltimo termino pensionis sue
ℙItem de Andrea de Thacham seruiente ibidem	xL. li'.

[1] In the transcription the following abbreviations have been adopted: dom., exp., lib., mag., and pred. for *dominus*, *expense*, *liberata*, *magister*, and *predictus* and their several inflexions. Where the suspensions of the original documents have been used, they are distinguished by a final apostrophe, e.g. Lond'.

[2] Visus Compoti de *added in another hand. The suspension* Recept' *should therefore be extended as* Receptis, *but was evidently intended by the original scribe to be read* Recepta.

ℙInde lib. Johanni de Bello campo ad exp. dom. uersus partes gallicanas	xx. li'.[1]
Exp. ℙInde lib. Thome dicto le Romeyn	x. li'. quas mutuauit dom. in recessu suo uersus Walliam
ℙItem Adekino de Rokesleye	x. li'. qua[s] mutuauit dom. eodem die pro exp. suis uersus Walliam
ℙItem lib. Mag. Thome de Cardolio	xx. li'. pro exp. dom. uersus Walliam de Meltone.
ℙItem Waltero de Mollesworth' apud Meltone	xL. marce de precepto dom.
ℙItem eidem ad emendam carucam ibidem	C. s'. pre[cepto]. dom.
ℙItem lib. Mercatoribus de societate Mozorum	iiij^{xx}. marce. per litteram [eorum *interl.*] et precepto dom.
ℙItem pro vno equo empto ad carectam	viij. marce.
ℙItem lib. domino Anketino draparío London'	xviij. marce. de veteri debito.
ℙItem domine de Paygnel	ij. marce de precepto dom.
ℙItem Montero Tabellioni	xiij. s'. iiij. d'. de precepto dom.
ℙItem pro vno palefrido Ferranto empto apud Lond'	x. marce. ℙItem pro vno capistro ad eundem —— iij. d'.
ℙItem in .xij. anulis auri emptis ad[2] portandum apud Melton'	xxiiij. s'.
ℙItem in .xij. anulis auri emptis ad portandum ut supra	xxviij. s'.
ℙItem. in .xxiiij. anulis ad idem emptis	L. s'.
ℙItem in vno cypho de argento empto	xx. s'.
ℙItem lib. domine Cristine de Enefeud	x. li'. de precepto dom.
ℙItem pro vno equo empto pro Waltero clerico	xx. s'.
ℙItem pro vno equo empto de Donkano pro Johanne de Wortel'	xxx. s'.
ℙItem pro vno equo empto pro Roberto le Barbour	xij. s'. vj. d.
ℙItem lib. Dauid le Grant' pro exp. dom. uersus [w *struck through*] Bristoll'.	xxij. li'.
ℙItem lib. Waltero de Reigni pro exp. dom. uersus Episcopum Lincoln'	vj. li'. per litteram
ℙItem lib. Roberto de Bradefeud pro feodo suo	xx. s'.
ℙItem lib. Nicholao de Warwik' pro feodo suo	x. s'.
ℙItem lib. Willelmo de Hereford[3] pro feodo suo	xx. s'.
ℙItem lib. Willelmo de Melkesham per litteram suam	xxx. s'.
ℙItem lib. fratri Johanni de Montagu tercia dominica aduentus dom.	xxvj. s'. viij. d'. precepto dom.
ℙItem lib. Waltero de Reigni. in Octabis sancti Michaelis	xx. li'. pro exp. dom. uersus Caerneruan
ℙItem lib. Johanni de Poswik	vij. li'. xv. s'. j. d'. pro exp. dom. uersus Leycestr'.
ℙItem lib. Senescallo dom. Rogeri de Montbray de precepto dom.	C. s'.
ℙItem lib. predicto dom. Rogero apud Leycestr' de mutuo	C. s'.

[1] *This entry apparently inserted later.*
[2] *Corrected from* ap.
[3] *Or possibly* Bereford ; *the initial letter appears to be a correction.*

ℙItem Rogero de Hecham pro feodo suo	xx. s'.
ℙItem pro vno equo empto ad harnesium dom. Abel	iiij. marce. iiij. s'.
ℙItem lib. Thome de Bruges pro sua poroffra contra priorem de Lewes	xx. s'. London'.
ℙItem lib. pro tumba fratris Johannis de Balsam.	xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
ℙItem lib. fratribus sancti Augustini pro pitancia	Lx. s'.
ℙItem lib. dom. Radulpho de sicca villa	x. li'. ad querendam familiam Vernone.
ℙItem lib. Johanni de Bello campo ad exp. dom.	x li'. per talliam. [*m. 2*]
ℙ	
ℙItem lib. dom. W. de Stokes pro feodo suo	C. s'.
ℙItem Mag. Radulpho de Oxon' pro robis suis	x. marce. s[cilicet]. pro estate et hyeme
ℙItem dom. Willelmo de Melkesham pro robis suis	x. marce.
ℙItem dom. Radulpho de sicca villa pro eodem	x. marce.
ℙItem dauy le Graunt pro roba sua [1]	xl. s'.
ℙItem Mag. Thome de cardol pro eodem.	
ℙItem Waltero de Reigny pro eodem.	
ℙItem pro roba dom. Thome le Fox de estate	v. marce [2]
ℙItem pro xx furruris ad opus armigerorum	v. marce. precium furrure. iij. s'. iiij. d'.
ℙItem pro xvj. furruris ad capucia eorundem	xj. s'. xj. d'.
ℙItem pro .v. sellis emptis ad clericos	v. marce. iij. s'. iiij. d'.
ℙItem pro .v. paribus cingular[um]	ij. s'. vj. d'.
ℙItem pro vna sella empta pro dom.	xvj. s'. et data fuit dom. Comiti cum palefrido [3]
ℙItem in capellis argentatis [4] ad eandem	vj. s'. viij. d'.
ℙItem pro vna alia Sella eiusdem facture	xvj. s'. et data fuit dom. Odoni de Gran son cum palefrido
ℙItem in duabus capellis argentatis sancti Husardi ad eandem	vj. s'. viij. d'.
ℙItem pro vna sella fustina cum leone	xiiij. s' —— pro dom.
ℙItem pro cingulis ad eandem	vj. d'. [2]
ℙ	
ℙItem lib. Adekino facienti arcus dom.	xiij. s'. iiij. d'. de precepto dom.
ℙItem Betisleye eunti vernon' ad exp. suas	iij. s'. de precepto. dom.
ℙItem lib. Thome Clerico eunti apud Stafford pro blado intrando	v. marce
ℙItem duobus garcionibus euntibus ibidem pro eodem	xviij. d'.
ℙItem lib. Philippo de Eye pro exp. suis uersus domum precepto. dom.	vj. s'. viij. d'.
ℙItem in exp. familie euntis de Tacham usque Ouinge	x. s'.
ℙItem lib. dom. W de Melkesham et Mag. .W. de Burnham uersus partes boreales	xl. s'. pro exp. suis et pro negociis dom. R. de Monbray
ℙItem pro .ij. equis conductis pro eisdem	viij. s'.
ℙItem lib. Rogero Clerico [iiij. d'. *struck through*]	iiij. d'. precepto. dom. apud Lond'
ℙItem portatoribus qui portauerunt robas ad retondendum et reportauerunt	ij. d'.
ℙItem die qua dom. recessit de Lond' presente dom. Roberto de Litlebur In vino et fructu	v. d'. ob'. q[a]. in taberna in Westchep'.

[1] roba sua *written over an erasure.*
[2] *These entries apparently inserted later.*
[3] a *inserted above line.*
[4] *The second* t *inserted above line.*

℔Item soluti pro retonsione vj. pannorum per[1] armigeris vj. s'.

℔Item retonsori pannorum in partem solucionis sibi debite xx. s'. vj. d'.

℔

℔Item lib. dom. pro exp. suis uersus Wallingeford coram Justiciariis xiij. s'. iiij. d'.

℔Item in exp. dom. Abel et Radulphi Clerici de Ouinge uersus London' et apud London' cum quatuor equis a die Mercurii proxima ante festum beati Petri aduincula s[cilicet]. per .vj. dies sequentes —— xxj. s'. ij. d'.

℔Item die Martis sequente in recessu dom. Abel et Walteri de Mollesworth' de Lond' [uersus dorking'. *inserted above line*] In dignerio ibidem —— xviij. d'.

℔Item eodem die in exp. R. Clerici exspectantis dom. ibidem per .iij. dies sequentes cum duobus equis —— vj. s'. iij. d'.

℔Item in exp. dom. Abel dom. Willelmi de Melkesham. R. de sicca villa. Mag. Roberti Coci et Ade Cythariste Lond' circa festum sancti Benedicti per .v. dies apud lond'[2] —— xxxj. s'. iij. d'. cum .viij. equis.

℔Item eodem tempore in exp. .iiij. pugillatorum ibidem commorantium pro negociis dom. R. de Montbray in vniuerso per viij. dies. —— xvij. s'. ix. d'. ob'.

℔Item lib. Reymondo de Sulye et R de sicca villa ad querendum dom. uersus Walliam. —— xx. s'.

℔Item lib. Mag. Roberto Coco pro exp. suis in Mora sua London' post dom. —— vj. s'. viij. d'. ad tractandum cum Mag. R de Freingham

℔Item lib. dom. in festo Assumpcionis beate virginis ad emendum .iij. cultellos. s[cilicet]. anelacios —— vj. s'.

℔Item lib. Willelmo de Betesl' querenti dom. cum[3] litteris tangentibus dom. R. de Montbray. xjj. d'.

℔Item in exp. dom. Abel. Philippi de Eye Mag. .R Coci venientium de Ouinge usque Lond' ante festum beati laurencii de mandato dom. qui uenerat tunc de Wallia —— v. s'. iiij. d'.[4] cum .iiij. equis.

℔Item lib. Henrico Page portanti litteras Mag. H. Lovel tangentes negocia Willelmi de Cortehope —— vj. d'. usque Roth'

℔Item pro sotularibus eiusdem [v *struck through*] —— vj. d'.

℔Item pro equis conductis apud Bristoll' ad deportanda exhennia dom. facienda dom. Regi —— xvij. s'. vj. d'.

℔Item in exp. ducentium eosdem equos usque Bristoll'. —— iiij. s'.

℔Item Hibernico Cursori eunti cum eisdem —— ij. s'.

℔Item lib. Waltero de Reygni pro exp. suis apud London' ad reponendam garderobam dom. postquam familia recessit de Lond' uersus Retherefeld' —— iiij. s'.

℔Item lib. filio Wrennoci Abadam quando recessit de London' —— vj. d'.

℔Item lib. garcioni Mag. Willelmi de Wendene pro exp. suis uersus curiam —— xij. s'.

℔Item pro exp. dom. Abel Radulphi de sicca villa Walteri Clerici et Johannis Win cum .viij. equis venientium de Ouinge uersus dom. London' per duos dies —— viij. s'. v. d'. ob'.

℔Item in exp. dom. Abel euntis apud Retherefeld' ad parandum contra Natale et de Retherefeld' usque Ouinge per quatuor dies —— v. s'.

℔Item tradito[1] dom. Willelmo de Melkesham. —— vj. s'. viij. d'.

℔Item lib. Johanni Wyn de precepto dom. —— iiij. s'. ad ducendam familiam apud Ouinge

℔Item lib. duobus garcionibus eadem vice ducentibus dom. equum Reymundi et equum Donekani —— xij. d'.

[1] *sic MS.*
[2] apud lond' *apparently inserted later.*
[3] *Corrected apparently from* pro.
[4] d' *inserted above line.*

℗Item Johanni de Bello Campo et Edmundo de Bagepuz euntibus uersus Bristoll' ad faciendum exhennium dom. dom. Regi apud Bristoll' —— vj. s'. viij. d'.
℗Item Martinetto et fratri suo ystrionibus de dono dom. —— xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℗Item lib. Johanni Fox qui remansit apud Londõn' infirmus post recessum familie uersus Meltone pro exp. suis. ij. s'. iiij. d'.
℗Item in exp. familie ducte de Tacham apud Ouinge —— ix. s'. iij. d'.
℗Item lib. Mag. Willelmo de de [*sic*] Burnham ad exp. suas uersus insulam die lune proxima post festum sancti Johannis Baptiste precepto dom. —— x. s'.
quia inferius [℗Item pro vj. peciis de cendallo liberatis Huchoni Cissori ad faciendam Culcitram —— Lxxij. s'. *struck through.*]
℗Item lib. Henrico Hybernico eunti uersus Walliam ad exp. suas —— xij. d'.
℗Item lib. Henrico garcioni Cok Bretoun ad exp. suas de precepto dom. —— xij. d'.
℗Item in exp. dom. Abel quando dom. venit de Frantia eundo uersus Ouinge —— xviij. d'. —— precepto dom.
℗Item in quodam Hakeneyo conducto pro eodem —— ij. s'.
℗Item in redeundo cum .viij. equis Lond' —— v. s'. x. d'. ob'. de exp. eiusdem.
℗Item in exp. dom. Abel et Radulphi de sicca villa apud london' ad tractandum cum Mercatoribus dom. Comitis lincoln' pro negociis dom. Rogeri de Montbray de precepto dom. —— xx. s'. j. d'. ob'.
℗Item in exp. dom. Abel redeuntis de Douere quando dom. adiuit partes gallicanas. a die Lune proxima post Natiuitatem beate Marie usque festum sancti Michaelis proximum sequens —— Lxj. s'. [ix. d'. ob'. *struck through*] q[a].
℗Item in exp. dom. Abel et Walteri de Mollesworthe et Ade Cythariste euntium de Leycestr' usque Oxon' die dominica proxima post festum apostolorum Symonis et Jude. s[cilicet]. per .iiij. dies sequentes —— xviij. s'. j. d'. q[a].
℗Item pro vno hakeneyo conducto pro Adekino cythariste de leycestr' usque Oxon' —— ij. s'. v. d'. [*m. 3*]

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℗Item pro .iiij. vlnis panni pro dom. ad vnam supertunicam pro nemore	xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℗Item in exp. dom. R. de sicca villa, dom. Abel, et Johannis de Bello campo uersus Ouinge ad querendum equos dom.	iij. s'. x. d'. ob'. precepto dom.
℗Item in exp. dom. Abel predicti et Johannis de Bello campo de Ouinge uersus Lond' cum .xiiij. equis	vj. s'. j. d'.
℗Item lib. Willelmo de Betesl' ad exp. suas uersus dom. R. de sicca villa quando transiuit mare	vj. d'.
℗Item soluti nuncio dom. Roysie de Montbray de precepto dom.	xij. d'.
℗Item pro retonsione duorum pannorum ad opus dom.	ij. s'.
℗Item cuidam garcioni Roberti de Bradefeud de precepto dom.	vj. d'.
℗Item pro .xij. flecches quando dom. iuit uersus Blechengeleye ad venandum	viij. d'.
℗Item pro piris et fructu emptis et missis apud Melton' Montbray contra natale	vij. s'. xj. d'.
℗Item lib. Thome de Bruges pro mora sua Lond' ad harnesium suum faciendum	[*blank*]
℗Item lib. eidem pro exp. suis veniendo Leycestr'	xx. s'.
℗Item lib. eidem pro exp. suis eundo Oxon'	xiij. s'. iiij. d'
℗Item lib. Philippo de Eye pro exp. suis de Lond' uersus domum.	iij. s'.

ℙItem lib. Cocbretoun pro passagio dom. Rolandi et Thome Fox apud Douer'	xxxvj. s'. apud Lond'
ℙItem lib. Andree seruiente [*sic*] de Tacham	xl. s'.
ℙItem pro .iij. furruris de nigra boge pro dom.	xxiiij. s'.
ℙItem pro vna furrura de alba Boge pro dom.	x. s'. viij. d'.
ℙItem pro vna furrura ad caputium	ij. s'. vj. d'.
ℙItem lib. garcioni dom. Rolandi archidiaconi Dolens' de dono dom. apud Lond'	x. s'.
ℙItem lib. Mag. Roberto Coco pro vno tabardo precepto dom.	x. s'.
ℙItem eidem pro feodo suo	xxvj. s'. viij. d'.
ℙItem die Martis proxima post festum sancti Egidii Abbatis Anno supradicto lib. Willelmo le Long Piscatori London' ab omni tempore hunc diem martis precedente	x. li'. xvij. s'. j. d'. De quibus .iiij. libre sunt de tempore et debito dom. Thome le Fox.
ℙItem eidem pro parte solutionis noui debiti	xl. s'.
ℙItem eodem die lib. Johanni de Sabrihstesworth' pro eodem [debito *struck through*, termino *interl.*]	viij. li'. s[cilicet]. pro poletria.
ℙItem eidem de tempore dom. Thome le Fox	xl. s'.
ℙItem eodem die solute Boydino pro grossis carnibus de eodem tempore	vj. li'. De quibus viginti s'. sunt de tempore dom. Thome le Fox.
ℙItem eodem die lib. Luce Pistori de tempore pred.	xv. libre. De quibus quatuor li'. pro dom. .Th'.
ℙItem eodem die lib. domine Margerie de la Blakeloft' pro ceruisia de tempore pred.	lxviij. s'. j. d'.
ℙItem eodem die lib. Thome Romano ypotecario de eodem tempore	x. li'. De quibus sex. li'. xij. s'. vj. d'. pro dom. .Th'.
ℙItem eodem die lib. Roberto de Castell' pro feno, bosco, et carbone de tempore pred.	vj. li'. xviij. s'. xj. d'. q[a]. De quibus .xvj. s'. [vj. d'. *interl.*] pro dom. .Th'.
ℙItem eodem die lib. Mag. Roberto Surigico pro ceruisia	xlij. s'. ix. d'. ob'.
ℙItem pro .vj. peciis de cendallo liberatis Huchoni Cissori ad faciendas culcitras.	.lxxij. s'. emptis de paulo lombard'.
ℙItem lib. dom. .j. equum quem dom. dedit in francia felisio precii [1]	xl. s'.
ℙItem lib. dom. .j. equum quem dedit dom. Ade de Crettinge precii [1]	xxvj. s'. viij. d'.

[1] precii *inserted later.*

℗

[*m.* 4]

℗In exp. factis ad ducendam familiam de London' usque Leycestr'	[*blank*]
℗Item in exp. dom. Abel. Walteri de Mollesworth'. Mag. Willelmi de Burnham. Adekini cythariste pugillatorum. narratorum et plurimorum aliorum superuenientium ut patet per rotulos exp.	Lxxv. s'. iiij. d'. s[cilicet]. a die Jouis proxima post octabas sancti Michaelis per .xvij. dies sequentes
℗Item pro garderoba ibidem per idem tempus	xlvij. s'. iij. d'. ut patet in tergo eiusdem rotuli
℗Item in exp. factis per dom. Abel ad ducendam familiam de London' usque Meltone contra Natale ut patet per rotulos exp. s[cilicet]. citra festum sancti Thome Apostoli.	iiij. li'. xvj. s'. ij. d'. ob'. q^{a}.
℗Item pro garderoba in eodem itinere ut patet in tergo rotuli	iiij. s'. viij. d'. ob'. et nil apud melton' expendit dom. Abel nisi .C. s'. pro garderoba per visum. W. de Mollesworth' .C.s'.
℗Item in exp. factis per eundem ad reducendam pred. familiam de Meltone usque London' et de London' usque Retherefeld', post festum Circumcisionis dom.	xiiij. li'. x. s'. vj. d'. q^{a}. ut patet per rotulum
℗Item pro Warderoba in eodem itinere ut patet in tergo rotuli	xlij. s'. viij. d'. ob'.
℗Item in exp. dom. apud London' a vigilia sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani per .v. dies continuatim ante quam adiuit Bristoll' —— ut patet per rotulum exp.	ix. li'. xvij. s'. iij. d'. ob'.
℗Item pro Warderoba ut patet in tergo rotuli	xxxj. s'. j. d'.
℗Item in exp. dom. Abel et Walteri Clerici de Stokeby et Walteri Antogne Clerici commorancium apud Lond' post recessum dom. uersus Bristoll' ad deliberanda vina fructus, et instaurum piscium emendum et mittendum apud Thacham quorum partichule subscribuntur, et in exp. pred. dom. Abel et Walteri Antoygne clerici de London' usque Retherefeld'	xxiiij. s'. q^{a}. ut patet per rotulum exp.
℗Item in exp. pred. dom. Abel et Johannis Tigre [et symone Pistore (*sic*) *interl.*] euntium de Retherefeld [de *struck through*] usque Thacham cum longa carrecta cum harnesio garderobe	xx. s'. xj. d'. ob'.
℗Empciones facte per dom. Abel apud Lond' de instauro piscium et fructuum missorum apud Tacham contra Quadragesimam	
℗In primis in .CCC. de stocfis	xxij. s'. vj. d'. precium .C. /vij. s'. vj. d'.
℗In .C. de duris piscibus	xxxviij. s'.
℗In .iiij. Millenariis de cepe	ij. s'. viij. d'./precium .Millenarii. viij. d'.

ℙIn dimidiam summam allee	xj. d'.
ℙIn .iij. fraellis ficuum	xij. s'. / precium fraelli .iiij. s'.
ℙIn ij. fraellis racemorum	v. s'. / precium fraelli .ij. s'. vj. d'.
ℙIn .CC.xlvj. libris amigdalarum	xxix. s'. / precium Centene / xij. s'.
ℙItem in Wervagio .vj. doliorum vini missorum apud Thacham	iiij. d'.
ℙItem ad ponenda pred. .vj. dolia de celario[1] in nauim	ij. s'.
ℙItem in cariagio .iiij. doliorum vini pro [*sic*] carectam de celario usque ad domum dom. apud lond'	iiij. s'. pro dolio. xij. d'.
ℙItem lib. Johanni Fox eunti cum prescriptis per aquam apud Thacham pro exp. suis	ij. s'.
ℙIste sunt solutiones facte pro combustione de Melton' Montbray	
ℙIn primis lib. Agneti Ancille domus pro supertunica sua combusta	iij. s'. vj. d'.
ℙItem Alano Carectario dom. pro supertunica sua	xviij. d'.
ℙItem Willelmo de Kenligworth' pro supertunica et capicio combustis	xviij. d'.
ℙItem Willelmo de yormerston' pro supertunica sua combusta	xij. d'.
ℙItem Rogero Pascefot pro pede suo combusto	xviij. d'.
ℙItem pro .iij. plumbeis et j. caudron' conductis	iiij. d'.
ℙItem pro deterioracione eorum in combustione coquine	x. d'.
ℙItem lib. dom. apud Leycestr'	Lxxviij. libre. viij. d.
Memorandum de auena empta et soluta	xxxvij. s'. vj. d'.
Item lib. Rogero Le Ferrour pro parte solutionis debiti pro ferrura	iiij. s'.

[*Endorsed on m. 1*]

Visus Compoti Abel de Horkel' de receptis et quibusdam expensis et liberacionibus factis [in hospicio *interl.*] dom. Bogonis de Clara Anno domini M°. cc̃. Lxx̊x. Quarto

APPENDIX II

Exchequer Accounts, Various, bundle 91, no. 3.

[*m. 1*] 12 March, 1284–5, to 29 September, 1285.

ℙRecepciones Walteri de Reyny Gardrobarii dom. Bogonis de Clara a die sancti Gregorii anno dom. M°. cc̃. lxx̊x [quarto *interl.*] usque festum sancti Michaelis anno dom. M° cc̃. lxx̊x quinto

[*In double col. Col. A*]

ℙDe Dauit le graunt apud London' lxvj. s'. viij. d'.

[1] *Corrected from* celaroo.

℔De Eodem apud Tacheham alia vice. xij. li'.
℔De Johanne de Posewik' apud London' .xxx. s'.
℔De Dauit le graunt apud London'. viij. li'.
℔De Mag. .S. de Baillol de arreragiis firme de Haliwell' per manus Mag. .R. de Phileby .xiij. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
℔De Dauit le graunt per manus Thome le Fox .xxij. li'.
℔De Remundo de Sulya apud Tregruk' .ix. li'. xiiij. s'.

℔De Simone Girard de societate Mosorum .Clxxj. li'. x. s'.
℔De Eodem . xxx. li'.
℔De Eodem . xx. li'.
℔De Eodem . lxx. s'.
℔De Eodem . xxxviij. s'. vj. d'.
℔De Eodem . vj. s'.
℔De Eodem . Liij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔De Eodem . xx. li'.

℔De Roberto de Bissopeston' de termino sancti Johannis Baptiste. Lij. li'.
℔De Eodem per Manus Johannis Anenel firmarii Donecast'. xx. li'.
℔De Roberto le Petit et aliis firmariis de Langeford'. xij. li'.

[*Col. B.*]

℔De dom. .W. de Melk' per litteram. Lxvj. s'. viij. d'.
℔De Eodem de arreragiis de Polstede. xv. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
℔De Johanne de Lewkenor' apud Westm' lxxiij. li' vj. s'. viij. d'.
℔De Willelmo firmario de Rotherisfeld' de termino sancti Johannis Baptiste .iiij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔De Waltero clerico de denariis receptis apud Stafford'. xxx. s'. vj. d'.
℔De Johanne Balliuo de Ouing'. xxvj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔De Fideiussoribus dom. .W. de Boking'. iiij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔De vicario de Frent' de termino sancti Johanni [*sic*] Baptiste lxvj. s'. viij. d'.
℔De Galfrido Firmario ecclesie de Saham de termino sancti Johannis Baptiste. vij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔De Henrico Capellano firmario cuiusdam Capelle pertinentis ad ecclesiam de Dorking'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔De Mag. Johanne de Molesworth' per Manus .W. de Eadem. xlvj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔De Eodem per Manus eiusdem pro firma ecclesie de Donemawe. xxxj. li'. [vij. s'. *underlined and* .x. s'. *written over*] viij. d'
℔De dom. Radulpho de Hengham de termino Pasche pro firma ecclesie de swanescamp' per Manus Petri clerici sui .xxxj. li'. xviij. s'. vj. d'

℔De Thesaurario Noui Templi London' de Pensione dom. de Termino Pasche anno dom. .M^{o}. cc lxxx^{o} quinto .L. s'.

℔De Waltero Coco seruiente de Dorking' .xv. li'. ij. s'.

[*At foot of Cols. A and B:*]

℔Summa predicte recepcionis .DC. lxxij. li'. x. s'. vij. d'

℔Empciones et liberaciones facte per manus pred. .W. a die sancti Gregorii anno dom. M° cc̃ lxxx̃. quarto vsque ad diem scanti [*sic*] Michaelis anno dom. .M°. cc̃ lxxx̃. quinto.

℔Debitum ℔In debito quo dom. tenetur dicto Waltero super vltimo compoto suo —— .vij. li'. vij. d'. q^{a} —— summa patet.

Expense ℔Pro .x. vnciis et dimidia vncia et dimidio quarterono serici emptis ad consuendam vnam Culcitram de serenis factam ad opus domini .x. s'. vij. d'. o'. precium vncie .xij. d'. Item pro .ij. vnciis et .j. quarterono serici emptis ad faciendos Crines in capitibus serenarum .ij. s'. iij. d'. precium vncie .xij. d'. Item pro .ij. vnciis Brasille emptis ad tingendas pred. .ij. vncias et .j. quarteronum serici de colore Crinium .vj. d'. In veteri Cendallo empto ad cubitandum in Bordura pred. Culcitre .vj. s'. In Burrello empto ad cubitandum in pred. Bordura .xvj. d'. In pergameno empto ad formandas serenas .iiij. d'. Item pro locacione cuiusdam domus in qua pred. culcitra consuebatur .xij. d'. Item de dono Custurariis consuentibus pred. Culcitram ad potandum .vj. d'. Item In stipendio Mag. ordinantis et facientis pred. Culcitram de conuencione dom. .xl. s'.

℔Summa lxij. s'. vj. d'. o'.

Expense ℔Item in lana empta ad cubitandum in vno Materacio de sindone rubeo dupplicato facto ad opus dom. per manus Hugonis de Oxonia .vj. s'. x. d'. Item pro Carpitura pred. lane .xij. d'. Item pro .iiij^{or}. vnciis serici emptis ad consuendum pred. Materacium .iij. s' viij. d'. precium vncie .xj. d'. In stipendiis operariorum consuencium pred. Materacium .v. s'. vj. d'. Item pro vna vncia serici empta et missa apud Tacheham precepto dom. .xij. d'. Item pro custura cuiusdam Canabi de Card' facti ad lectum dom. .iiij. d'. o'. Item pro vna libra lane empta ad cubitandum in quodam alio Materacio de sindone rubeo singulo cum Bordura interlaqueata facto ad opus dom. .ij. s'. Item pro .v. vnciis serici emptis ad consuendum pred. Materacium singulum .v. s'. precium vncie .xij. d'. Item pro factura et custura eiusdem Materacii vna cum factura et custura .j. Bordure in supradicto Materacio duplo .xv. s'. vj. d' Item pro dimidia pecia sindonis rubei debilis empta ad cubitandum in quodam Gardecors' viridi facto ad opus dom. .iij. s'. iiij. d'. Item pro vna vncia et dimidia emptis ad consuendum pred. gardecors' et vnum alterum gardecors' de sindone rubeo factum ad opus dom. xviij. d'. precium vncie xij. d'. Item pro .ij. libris Coton' et .ij. libris Cadac' emptis ad cubitandum in pred. .ij. gardecors' .iiij. s'. vj. d'. Item pro factura et custura pred. duorum gardecorsatorum v. s'.

℔Summa Lv. s'. ij. d'. o'.

Expense ℔In exp. Walteri de Reyny commorantis London' circa pred. ordinanda precepto dom. et pro sellis dom. et sociorum suorum ordinandis a die Mercurii proxima post festum sancti Gregorii vsque diem sabbati in vigilia sancti Edwardi Regis videlicet per vndecim dies vtroque die computato .xxij. s'. percipientis per diem .ij. s' In Exp. eiusdem de London' vsque Tregruk' post expedicionem predictorum . Culcitre . Materaciorum . gardecorsatorum et sellarum videlicet a die sancti Edwardi Regis vsque diem sancti Benedicti vtroque die computato .s[cilicet]. per quatuor dies .viij. s'. per diem .ij. s'. In Exp. cuiusdam Equi commorantis London' per tres dies et per duos dies versus Tacheham super quem Mag. Monterus equitauit de Welles vna cum exp. cuiusdam garcionis reducentis pred. Equum apud Tacheham .xij. d'.

℔Summa .xx.xj. s'.

℔Pro quatuor Nauiagiis petrarum emptis pro vno Muro faciendo in noua garderoba et aliis reparandis in alia garderoba infra nouam Cameram .xv. s'. x. d'. Item pro .Liiij. summis sabulonis emptis ad idem cum cariagio et waruagio per aquam .iiij. s'. xj. d'. Item pro .CCCC. Ciment' emptis ad idem .xx. s'. precium centene .v. s'. In plastro empto ad idem vna cum bosco et carbonibus emptis ad pred. plastrum comburendum .v. s'. vij. d'. Item pro .ij. gistes' et .ij. planchon' emptis ad idem et .xj. cheueron' .iiij. s'. vj. d'. Item pro .xij. Bordis emptis ad hostia garderobe . et pro sedibus . gychettis ad altar' et ad planchiandam nouam garderobam et pro vno stillicidio .v. s'. j. d'. o'. Item pro xvj. libris plumbi emptis ad pluncandum pred. stillicidium .iij. s'. iiij. d'. Item pro gunfis clauis et vertenellis emptis ad tria hostia garderobe et ad gychettum de altare .iij. s'. vij. d'. ob'. Item In Tegulis emptis ad cooperiendam pred. garderobam cum cariagio .ij. s'. ix. d'. In lattis emptis ad idem .vj. d'. Item pro .ij. fenestris vitreis emptis cum tota ferrura de nouo .ij. s'. j. d'. Item pro quodam hostio frangendo et reformando in Muro lapideo inter nouam Cameram et Capellam de conuencione dom. Willelmi de Stokes' et Mag. Radulphi de Oxonia .iij. s'. .viij. d'. Item In stipendio Cementariorum qui fecerunt pred. Murum lapideum .xx. s'. Item In stipendiis Carpentariorum facientium et reformantium pred. Cameram vna cum reparacione veteris Camere .ix. s'. vj. d'. Item in stipendiis Tegulatorum cooperientium et reparantium pred. Cameras nouam et veterem .vij. d'. Item In stipendiis Plastrariorum reformantium et facientium hostia et altare pred. et plures alios defectus et pro dealbacione domorum .viij. s'. iiij. d'. o'. Item in mundacione domorum post recessum pred. Cementariorum . Tegulatorum . Plastrariorum et Carpentariorum .x. d'. Item pro factura cuiusdam Almarii in garderoba cum serrura et aliis ad idem pertinentibus .iij. s'. iij. d'. o'. Item pro factura cuiusdam Pil' de franca petra iuxta gradum Cameris [*sic*] dom. vna cum petra empta pro eadem .vj. s'. viij. d'. ob'.

℔Summa .vj. li'. xiiij. d'. ob'.

℔Reparatura domorum Lond'

[*m. 2*]

℔Pro vna trabe empta ad faciendum vnum Tumberellum pro puteo in Curia . dom. apud London' .xviij. d'. In Cariagio pred. trabis .iiij. d'. Item pro Carpentaria eiusdem trabis .x. d'. Item in ferro et clauis ferri emptis pro pred. Tumberello .iiij. d'. Item In Bordis emptis ad faciendum vnum Almarium in garderoba .xvj. d'. Item pro factura predicti Almarii .xij. d'. In serruris et clauibus emptis ad pred. Almarium viij. d'.

℔Summa .vj. s'.

℔Per manus .R. de Wint'

℔In Exp. Walteri de Reygny commorantis London' circa pred. ordinanda precepto dom. a die Mercurii proxima ante festum sancti Georgii quo die dom. recessit de London' versus Tach' vsque diem Jouis proximam ante Pentecostem quo die dom. venit London' videlicet per .xxj. diem [*sic*] .xlij. s'. per diem .ij. s'. In vadiis Diconi Palefridarii dom. commorantis ibidem cum vno Palefrido ferrando per idem tempus .ij. s'. vij. d'. o'. percipientis per diem .j. d'. o'. In feno empto pro pred. Palefrido per idem tempus .x. d'. o'. Item pro .x. Bussellis auene emptis pro eodem per pred. tempus .ij. s'. vij. d'. o'. In littera empta pro eodem per idem tempus .v. d'. o'. In furfure empto pro eodem per dictum tempus .vj. d'. o'. In ferrura eiusdem .iij. d'. q^{a}. Item In Exp. pred. Walteri commorantis London' eundo et redeundo de London' vsque Tonebrig' querentis litteras dom. Comitis de Glouernia precepto dom. Et de eodem vsque Maydinheth' Et ibi inuenit Henricum de Hibernia qui eas vltra defer[ebat] vsque Leministr' a die veneris proxima post festum sancti Germani Episcopi vsque diem veneris proximam ante festum sancti Botulphi videlicet per .xvj. dies .xxxij. s'. percipientis per diem .ij. s'. Item in exp. Henrici de Hibernia deferentis pred. litteras vsque Leministr' .iij. s'.

℔Summa iiij. li'. iiij. s'. iiij. d'. ob'. q^{a}.

Expense

. Lam-pride[1]	ℙItem pro duabus Duodenis Lampridarum emptis et missis apud Tach' pro familia precepto dom. .xiiij. s'. precium Duodene .vij. s'. precium Lampride .vij. d'.	Summa xiiij. s'. viij. d'
	Item pro exp. Frere deferentis pred. Lampredas de London' vsque Tach' .viij. d'.	
Empcio pannorum	De Waltero de Rokesleg' pro .x. vlnis et dimidia Pers' .xlvij. s'. iij. d'. precium vlne .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa Lij. li'. xiij. s'. vij. d'.
	De Eodem pro vno panno mixto .vj. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.	
	De Anketino de Beca uilla pro .vij. vlnis Rad' .xv. s'. ij. d'. precium vlne .ij. s'. ij. d'.	
	De Eodem pro .iij. vlnis et dimidia de Burnet' et dimidia vlna Jaune .viij. s' precium vlne .ij. s'.	
	De Eodem pro dimidia Rad' empta ad opus Duncan' .xliij. s'. iiij. d'.	
	De Eodem pro .iij. Rad' emptis ad opus Armigerorum .xij. li' precium panni .iiij. li'[1]	
	De Eodem pro .iij. pannis de Burnet' ad opus eorundem .xij. li'. precium panni .iiij. li'	
	De Eodem pro vno panno de Scarlet' empto ad opus dom. .viij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'	
	De Eodem pro vij. vlnis de Bluet' emptis pro Medico xxiij. s' iiij. d'. precium vlne .iij. s'. iiij. d'.	
	De Eodem pro .xxxix. vlnis tirreten' Mixte emptis pro dom. Bogone et .E. de Mortuo mari .vj. li'. xvj. s' vj. d'. precium vlne .iij. s'. vj. d'.	
Panni	+ℙPro .iij. peciis de Worcested .Liiij. s' precium pecie xviij. s'	Summa vij. li'. xv. s'. viij. d'.
	+ Item pro viij. vlnis de quodam panno Mixto .xxx. vj. s' precium vlne .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	
	Item pro .iiij. vlnis Burnett' emptis pro Caligis dom. .xviij. s' precium vlne .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	
	Item pro .iiij. vlnis Burnett' emptis ad perficiendam liberacionem armigerorum .xiij. s'. iiij. d'. precium vlne .iij. s'. iiij. d'.	
	Item pro .ij. Camelin' de Tripl' emptis pro dom. xxxiiij. s'. iiij. d'. precium . Camelin' .xvij. s'. ij. d'.	
Banquaria	ℙItem pro vno Banquario empto per manus simonis Girard' .vj. s'.	Summa .vj. li'. xiiij. s'.
	Item pro vno Tapeto cum scuticis ad arma Regis Anglie .xx. s'	
	Item pro .iiij. tapetis seminatis cum Lucis albis .C. viij. s' precium pecie .xxvij. s'.	
Retonsura pannorum	Item pro retonsura .x. vlnarum et dimidie Pers' .v. d'. o'.	Summa xij. s'. iiij. d'. ob'.
	Item pro retonsura vij. vlnarum Rad' .iij. d'. o'.	
	Item pro retonsura .iiij. vlnarum Burnett' et Jaun' .ij. d'.	
	Item pro retonsura .j. panni Mixti .xij. d'.	
	Item pro retonsura dimidie Rad' .vj. d'.	
	Item pro retonsura .iij. Rad' pro armigeris .iij. s'.	
	Item pro retonsura .iij. Burnett' pro eisdem .iij. s'.	
	Item pro retonsura .iiij. vlnarum de Burnett' .ij. d'.	
	Item pro retonsura .j. panni de scarlet' .xij. d'.	
	Item pro retonsura .iiij. vlnarum de Burnett' .ij. d'.	
	Item pro retonsura .vij. vlnarum de Bluet' .iij. d'. o'.	
	Item pro retonsura xxxix. vlnarum de tirreten' .ij. s'.	
	Item pro retonsura .viij. vlnarum Mixti .iiij. d'.	

[1] *Written over an erasure.*

[*m.* 2 *cedula*] Factura robarum dom. per Manus Hugonis de Oxonia a festo Pasche usque ad festum sancti Michaelis.

Pro factura et custura .j. Robe de pers' cum tabardo post Pa[s]cham .xviij. d'.
Pro factura et custura .viij. garminum de Pounac' contra Pentecostem .iij. s'.
Pro factura et custura .iij. garminum de Worcested' lineatorum cum Cam' de Tripl' .ij. s'. vj. d'.
Pro factura et custura .j. Tunice de Cang' .viij. d'.
Pro factura et custura .ij. garminum de quodam panno Mixto .xij. d'.
Pro factura et custura .j. Coopertorii de veluett' .ij. s'.
℣Summa a festo Pasche vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis anno domini .M°°. cc̊ lxx̊x̊. quinto x. s'. viij. d'.

[*m.* 2 *contd.*]

. Fururic

℣Pro vna furura de Boga empta ad opus domini .x. s'.
Pro vna furura ad Capucia empta ad opus eiusdem .ij. s'. vj. d'.
Pro vna furura et .j. Capucio de Boga emptis ad opus Duncan' .v. s'. vj. d'.
Pro .xxij. fururis et .xxij. Capuciis agni emptis pro Armigeris .iiij. li'. viij. s'. precium furure et Capucii .iiij. s'.
Pro .iij. fururis et .iij. Capuciis de Boga emptis pro eisdem .xij. s'. vj. d'. precium furure et Capucii .iiij. s'. ij. d'.
Pro vna furura de Squirello et .j. Capucio de strell' emptis pro Medico .x. s'.
Pro .v. fururis et dimidia et .ij. Capuciis de Boga emptis pro robis dom. de scarl' .lx. s'. v. d'. precium furure .x. s' j. d'. precium Capucii .ij. s'. vj. d'.

Summa ix. li'. viij. s'. xj. d'

. Tela

℣Pro .lx vlnis tele de Leg' emptis ad opus dom. pro Linchiamentis .xlij. s'. vj. d'. precium vlne .viij. d'. o'.
Pro xlj. vlnis tele emptis emptis [*sic*] ad opus eiusdem pro lineis robarum .xxx. s'. ix. d'. precium vlne .ix. d'.

Summa lxxiij. s'. iij. d'.

. Card' et Canabus

Item pro .lxxij. vlnis Card' .xxj. s'. precium vlne .iij. d'. o'.
Item pro lxx. vlnis Canabi .xiij. s'. j. d'. o'. precium vlne .ij. d'. q[a].

Summa xxxiiij. s'. j. d'. ob'.

. Mappe

Item pro .iiij. (or) Manutergiis emptis pro garderoba .iiij. s'.
Item pro .iiij. Manutergiis emptis pro Pannetria .ij. s'. iiij. d'.
Item pro ij. Mappis Longis et .vj. Manutergiis pro supermappis .xxiiij. s'.

Summa xxx. s'. iiij. d'.

Gingibras'

℣Pro vna Gurda Gingibrasii empta ad opus domini per Manus Simonis Girard' .lx. x. s'.
Pro vna olla de Zucra rosarum .xiiij. s'.
Pro vna olla de Zucra violarum .xiij. s'

Summa iiij. li'. xvij. s'

[*m.* 3]

De Thoma le Romayn pro .CC. et .j. quarteronis cere .Ciij. s'. vj. d'. precium Centene .xlvj. s'.
De Eodem pro .xlv. libris Amigdalarum .v. s'. vij. d'. o'. precium libre .j. d'. o'.
De Eodem pro .xx. libris et dimidia et .j. quarterono Zucre .xvij. s'. iij. d'. o'. precium libre .x. d'.
De Eodem .vj. libre et dimidia safer' .xxxij. s'. vj. d'. precium libre .v. s'.

. Species

De Eodem .iij. libre piperis .xxj. d'. precium libre vij. d'.
De Eodem .ij. libre Cumni .xvj. d'. precium libre .viij. d'.
De Eodem .v. libre Cumni .iiij. s'. ij. d'. precium libre .x. d'.
De Eodem .xvij. libre ficuum .ij. s'. x. d'. precium libre .ij. d'.
De Eodem .vj. libre Racemorum de Maleg' .xij. d'. precium .ij. d'.
De Eodem pro lxij. [*libris*] et dimidia albi pulueris .lxij. s'. vj. d'. precium libre xij. d'.
De Eodem pro xxv. libris et dimidia gran' .vij. s'. vj. d'. precium libre .iiij. d'.
De Eodem dimidia libra et .j. quarteronus de Giloferis .iij. s' precium libre .ij. s'.
De Eodem .j. libra et dimidia Macie et Quibib' .iij. s'. ix. d'. precium libre .ij. s'. vj. d'.
De Eodem dimidia libra Cetewall' .vj. d'.
De Eodem .iij. libre galing' empte pro pulueribus faciendis .iiij. s'. vj. d'. precium libre .xviij. d'.
De Eodem .ij. libre Gingibrasii .iiij. s'. precium libre .ij. s'.
De Eodem .vij. libre Gingebrasii .v. s'. x. d'. precium libre .x. d'.
De Eodem .vj. libre Canelle pro pulueribus .v. s'. precium libre .x. d'.
De Eodem pro .ij. Pomis garnatis .xij. d'.
De Eodem dimidia libra turis ad capellam .iij. d'.
Eidem pro Batura pulueris de diuersis speciebus ab eodem emptis .ij. s'.
De Eodem pro .iij. pellibus Multonum emptis ad facient' [*sic*] Pouc' [*pouches*] pro speciebus et pulueribus .iij. d'.
De Eodem pro vno sacco empto in quo ponebantur species misse apud Tach' .vj. d'.
De Eodem pro corda empta pro dicto sacco ligando .ob'.
De Eodem pro vno Papero empto pro garderoba .vij. d'.

Summa xiij. li'. xij. s'. ij. d'.[1] ob'.

. Cera

De Juliana Longa pro .C. cere empta .xlvj. s'.
Alano Candelario pro factura Candelarum Torchiarum eiusdem cere .iiij. s'. ij. d'.

Summa .L.s'. ij. d'.

℣Species empte in absencia Thome le Romayn

De Ernaldo de la Brone .iiij. libre . saffer' .xx. s'. precium . libre .v. s'.
De Eodem .v. libre Cumni .iiij. s'. ij. d'. precium libre .x. d'.
De Eodem .iij. libre piperis .xxj. d'. precium libre .vij. d'.
De Eodem .viij. libre . albi pulueris .viij. s'. precium libre .xij. d'.
De Eodem .iij. libre gran' .xij. d'. precium libre .iiij. d'.
De Eodem .vj. libre gingebrasii .xij. s'. precium libre .ij. s'.
De Eodem .iij. libre Macie et de quibib' .vij. s'. vj. d'. precium libre .ij. s'. vj. d'.
De Eodem .iij. libre galing' pro pulueribus .iiij. s'. vj. d'. precium libre .xviij. d'.
De Eodem .iij. libre giloferarum .vj. s'. precium libre ij. s'.
De Eodem .iij. libre Quibib' per se .vj. s'. precium libre .ij. s'.
De Eodem .ij. Pixides pignole .ix. s'. precium Pixidis .iiij. s'. vj. d'.

Summa lxxix. s'. xj. d'

℣De Johanne de Borewell' .ij. Sargie scheker' empte pro lecto dom. .lx. s'. precium pecie .xxx. s'. Item de Bono Mercatore pro .ij. paribus platearum emptis ad opus eiusdem .xxiij. s'.

[1] *A letter before* ij. d'. *has been erased; query* v *or* i.

Sargiarum . platearum . Expense

iiij. d'. Item pro vno pare platearum empto ad opus eiusdem .xl. s'. Item pro vno gladio empto ad opus eiusdem .vj. s'. j. d'. Item pro .ij. artis Lapidibus emptis ad opus eiusdem .xij. d'. Item pro vno pare Cirotecarum de plateis facto ad opus eiusdem .iij. s'. vj. d'. Item pro vno Capello ferri posito inter duos capellos fulcitr' ad opus eiusdem empto .xij. s'. vj. d'. Item pro vna vlna tele empta ad cubitandum in vno Bracal' facto ad opus eiusdem per Manus .R. de Winton' .iij. d'. Item In Cotona empta ad cubitandum in pred. Bracal' per manus eiusdem .j. d'. In laqueis sericis emptis ad pred. Bracal' .v. d'. per manus eiusdem. Item pro factura et custura eiusdem Bracal' .viij. d'. Item pro .vj. Duodenis Botonum emptis pro vna cloca domini videlicet de Curall' .iij. s'. precium Duodene .vj. d'. per Manus predicti .R. de Winton'. Item pro vna vlna Cindone empta ad ligandam pred. clocam .vj. d'.

℔Summa .vij. li' xj. s'. iiij. d'.

. selle

Item pro vna sella nigra Camoyseata .xiij. s'. iiij. d'. Item pro vna sella deaurata empta pro Milite .xviij. s'. Item pro vna sella deaurata empta pro Milite .xviij. s'. iij. d'. Item pro Brondura pred. duarum sellarum pro Militibus .xl. s'. Item pro vna sella rubea de Alaman' empta pro dom. xiij. s'. iiij. d'. Item pro .vij. paribus singularum emptis pro dom. et sociis suis per Manus Johannis de Bello campo .iiij. s'. viij. d'. Item pro .iiij. paribus singularum emptis pro eisdem .ij. s'. iiij. d'. Item pro .xiiij. sellis cum plateis deauratis emptis pro dom. et sociis suis .ix. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'. precium selle .xiij. s'. iiij. d'. Item pro .xx. viij. Pauonibus Brondatis emptis ad ponendum super dictis sellis. Lvj. s'. precium Pauonis .ij. s'.

℔Summa xvij. li'. xij. s'. vij. d'.

vinum

℔Item pro duobus doleis vini emptis et missis apud Tacheham precepto dom. .iiij. li'. x. s'. Item pro Cariagio pred. doleorum vini de London' vsque Tacheham .iij. s'. x. d'. Item pro .ij. Morteriis emptis et missis ibidem eodem tempore .xviij. d'. ob'. Item In Exp. Johannis Fox conducentis dicta vinum et morteria vsque Tach[eham] .ij. s'.

℔Summa .iiij. li'. xvij. s'. iiij. d'. ob'.

. Exp. Nuncio-rum·

In Exp. [garcionis *interl.*] Rogeri le Waleys deferentis litteras dom. de London' usque Tacheham .iij. d'. Item In Exp. Jacobell' commorantis London' per duos dies pro littera dom. .W. de Bromchon' habenda et deferentis dom. apud Tach[eham] per alios duos dies .vj. d'. Item In Exp. cuiusdam Garcionis deferentis litteras dom. de London' vsque Tregruk' .viij. d'. Item In Exp. Jordani Cissoris de London' usque Tach[eham] per duos dies .iiij. d'. Item In Exp. Kirkeby deferentis litteras dom. de Lond' vsque Tregruk' .viij. d'. Item In Exp. Wenge deferentis quemdam Capellum ferreum de London' usque Tregruk' viij. d'.

℔Summa .iij. s'. j. d'.

Expense

In Exp. Thome de Houton' de London' vsque Leycestr' pro negociis dom. ibidem expediendis . s[*cilicet*] . pro ecclesia de Melton' .vj. s' viij. d' Item pro locacione cuiusdam Hak' super quem equitauit eodem tempore iiij. s'. vj. d'. Item Eidem quando reuenit de Leycestria pro areragiis exp. suarum prout dom. probare fecit per particulas suas .x. s'. Item Willelmo de Horton' clerico pro scriptura rotulorum Compoti .W. de Reygny .iij. s'. In pergameno empto super quod [*sic*] dictum compotum scribebat .xij. d'. In Encausto .ob'.

℔Summa .xxv. s'. ij. d'. ob'.

Expense

Item In Exp. dominorum Thome le Fox Walteri de Reygny de London' usque Ebor' . Dunolm' . Masham . Ceterinton' . et Donecastr' a festo sancti Petri in Augusto vsque festum sancti Mathei Apostoli videlicet . per .Lj. dies[1] . primo die et non vltimo computatis .x. li'. iiij. s'. percipientium per diem .iiij. s'.

℔summa .x. li'. iiij. s'.

[1] diem *apparently written*

Expense { Item In Exp. dom. Thome le Fox versus Episcopum London' pro ecclesia de Folham per vnum diem et dimidium .ij. s'. iiij. d'. Item In Exp. eiusdem de Tach[eham] vsque London' vnacum exp. Walteri Mareschall' pro Equis emendis .xvj. d'. ob'. Item pro exp. Walteri Mareschall' de London' vsque Tach[eham] .ij. s'. Item In Exp. Dorking' commorantis apud Dunolm' propter Infirmitatem post recessum dominorum Thome le Fox et W. de Reyny .ij. s'. viij. d'.

℔Summa viij. s'. iiij. d'. ob'.

Capella et piri { Item pro .ij. Capellis fulcitri vna cum laqueis sericis emptis ad opus dom. et dom. .E. de Mortuo Mari .iij. s'. iiij. d'. Item pro vna serrura empta ad vnam Cistam de Candelario .iij. d'. o'. Item pro .CCCC. piris emptis et missis apud Tacheham precepto dom. iij. s'. o'.

℔Summa vj. s' viij. d'.

. Ciphi . { Pro vno Cipho argenteo deaurato cum coopertulo dato dom. Johanni de vallibus per Manus dom. Abél .Cxj. s'. ij. d'.
Pro vno Cipho argenteo deaurato cum coopertulo dato dom. Willelmo de Saham per Manus Magistri .R. de Oxonia .lxxviij. s' iiij. d'.
Pro vno Cipho argenteo deaurato cum coopertulo dato dom. Johanni de Metingham per visum dom. .W. de Melk' .Lvj. s'. viij. d'.
Pro duobus Ciphis argenteis deauratis datis Officiali Cantuariensi et Decano de Arcubus per Manus Magistrorum .R. de Oxonia et T. de Cardol' .iiij. li'. x. s'.
Pro vno Cipho argenteo empto per Manus Simonis Girard' qui datus fuit dom. .E. de Mortuo Mari .xxxviij. s'. vj. d'.
Pro vno Cipho argenteo empto per Manus eiusdem ad opus dom. .L. s'.

℔Summa xxj. li'. iiij. s'. viij. d'.

[*m. 4*]

Equi. { Pro vno Equo Empto per Manus Walteri clerici .xvj. s'.
Pro vno Equo Empto de Waltero de Molesworth'. [ad longam carectam. *interl.*] Cvj. s' viij. d'.
Pro vno Equo nigro empto de Waltero de Reygny [ad opus dom. *interl.*] lxxiij. s'. iiij. d'.
De Eodem pro vno Palefrido ferrando empto ad opus dom. .Cvj. s' viij. d'.

Summa xv. li'. ij. s' viij. d'.

Equus { De Mag. Radulpho de Oxonia pro vno Palefrido empto ad opus dom. [.Cvj. s'. viij. d'. *struck through and underlined*] Et solutum erit per vicarium de Saham.

Remundo de sulya per Manus Dauit le graunt et .J. de Bello Campo per litteram die Dominica proxima post festum sancte Petronille virginis .xxvj. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
Dom. Rogero Loueday precepto dom. et per litteram .xx. li'.
Dom. Willelmo de Bromthon' xiij. li'. vj. s' viij. d'.
Dom. Roberto de Lutlebur' .xl. s'.
Roberto de Bradefeld' .xl. s'.
Willelmo de kellawe .xl. s'.
Dom. Edmundo de Mortuo mari .xl. li'.
Eidem alia vice per litteram .xx. li'.
Eidem per Manus Henrici capellani .x. li'.
Dom. Abel pro negociis dom. expediendis versus Episcopum Herefordiensem .xl. s'.
Dom. Willelmo de Melk' pro negociis dom. expediendis apud Hereford' .xx. li'.
Fratri Willelmo de Hospicio sancti Antonii pro negociis dom. expediendis apud Hereford' .xx. li'.

Liberaciones denariorum

Eidem pro exp. suis versus Hereford' pro pred. negociis expediendis .x. s'.
Mag. Thome de Cardoleo pro negociis dom. expediendis apud Walingford' .C. s'.
Mag. Roberto Medico de dono dom. .xl. s'.
Die sabbati proxima post festum sancte Petronille virginis lib. Rogero le Waleys pro exp. dom. versus Tacheham .vj. s'.
Mag. Montero pro exp. suis versus Ebor' precepto dom. .xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
Eidem pro vno Equo allocato super quem equitauit de Lond' vsque Ebor' .iiij. s'. vj. d'.
Willelmo de Creton' pro exp. suis versus Ebor' per quindecim dies .xv. s'.
Johanni de Posewyk' pro exp. suis versus Curiam Romanam .iiij. li'.
Mag. Radulpho de Oxonia precepto dom. Liij. s'. iiij. d'.
Pro vno Hospicio locato apud Leycestr' in Itinere ad opus dom. visu .W. de Molesworth' .xxiiij. s'.
Dom. Willelmo . de Melk' pro negociis dom. expediendis apud Rotherisfeld Polsted et Tregruk' .xl. s'.
Ithello attornato dom. pro exp. suis versus Walliam precepto dom. .x. s'.
Jacobello pro exp. suis versus Curiam Romanam .xlvj. s'. viij. d'.
Dom. Willelmo de Stok' pro roba sua Estiuali .C. s'.
Dom. Willelmo de Melk' pro roba sua Estiuali .lxvj. s' viij. d'.
Mag. Radulpho de Oxonia pro roba sua Estiuali [.lxvj. s' viij. d'. *struck through and underlined*, nil *struck through*[1]] quia solutum erit per vicarium de Saham.
Mag. Thome de Cardol' pro roba sua estiuali lxvj. s' viij. d'.
Dom. Thome le Foy [*sic*] pro roba sua estiuali .lxvj. s'. viij. d'.
Waltero de Reygny pro duabus robis suis yemali et Estiuali .vj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.

Summa CC. xxj. li'. ix. s'. vj. d'.

Pro tempore Abel

℔Bono Mercatori vasconie pro vinis ab eodem emptis per Manus dom. Abel .xiij. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
℔Eidem de arreragiis pecunie sibi debite de tempore dom. Abel .viij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
℔Thome seruienti Stephani de Homlane pro fururis ab eodem emptis per manus dom. Abel .C. vj. s'. viij. d'.
℔Lucasio pistori pro Pane ab eodem empto tempore dom. Abel .xvj. li'. per talliam[2]
℔Willelmo Piscatori[3] pro Pane ab eodem empto tempore dom. Abel .vj. li'. per [talliam *struck through*] litteram dom.[4]
℔Boidino Carnifici pro grossa carne ab eodem empta tempore pred. dom. .A. .iiij. li'. per talliam[5]

Summa Liij. li'. v j. s' viij. d'.

℔Summa omnium summarum pred. empcionum et expensarum .CCCC. iiij^{xx}. [vj. li'. xv. s'. iiij. d'. q^{a}. *struck through*] viij. li'. xix. s'. [viij. d'. *struck through*] xj. d'. o' cum vna cedula annexa.

℔Summa totalis exp. tam[6] Garderobe quam de exp. hospicii [quam exp. forinsecarum de toto tempore *struck through*, de tempore *written over*] W. de Reyngy [tam in Anglia quam in Wallia per omnes rotulos suos *struck through*, a die sancti Gregorii . anno dom. M°. C°C°. Lxxxiiij^{to}. *written over*] vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis Anno dom. M°. C°.

[1] *Apparently by accident.*
[2] per talliam *added later.*
[3] ca *inserted later*, Pistori *being originally written*
[4] per . . . domini *added later.*
[5] per talliam *added later.*
[6] tam *inserted above line.*

Lxxx̊. quinto [per quod tempus fuit Garderobarius . dom. *interl.*] —— vj^{c}. iiij^{xx}. viij. li'. xiiij. s'. iiij. d'. q^{a}. Et sic debet dominus Waltero .xvj. li'. iij. s'. ix. d'. q^{a}.

℔Empciones facte de Simone Girard' et de sociis suis [et de *interl.*] Mercatoribus Luk' per Manus .W. de Reygny. Et inde patet liberacio ex alia parte rotuli.

sindon'
- De Simone Girard' videlicet de societate Mosorum vj. pecie sindonis rubei fortis ponderis lx vnciarum lxx. s'. precium vncie xiiij. d'.
- De Eodem pro .iij. peciis sindonis de cursu rubei .xx. s'. precium pecie .vj. s'. viij. d'.
- De Eodem pro vna pecia samuti rubei fortis .viij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
- De Eodem .ij. pecie sindonis viridis fortis .xxviij. s'. viij. d'. precium pecie xiiij. s'. iiij. d'.
- De Eodem .ij. pecie sindonis rubei fortis xxvj. s'. viij. d'. precium pecie .xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
- De Eodem .vj. pecie sindonis rubei de cursu .xl. s' precium pecie vj. s'. viij. d'.
- De Eodem pro vno panno auri .xvj. s'.
- De Eodem .j. pannus de kenchia .xvj. s'
- De Eodem .j. pecia sindonis Ind' fortis.
- De Eodem .v. vlne pannorum mixtorum empte ad opus dom. .xxv. s'. precium vlne .v. s'.

de stauro
- De stauro inuento in garderoba .j. pannus radiatus de residuo liberacionis armigeris de Natiuitate dom. anno dom. M^{o}. cc^{o}. lxx̊x̊ quarto.
- De stauro dimidius pannus de Bluet' continens .x. vlnas.

[*m. 1 d*]. Rotulus compoti Walteri de Reygny videlicet de Gardroba.

[*m. 2 d*] ℔Liberaciones facte a festo sancti Gregorii anno dom. M^{o} cc̊ lxx̊x quarto vsque festum sancti Michaelis anno dom. M^{o}. cc̊. lxx̊x quinto vt patet per empciones infra rotulum.

			furrure	Capuciã
Pers'	Dom. ad robam et tabardum	.x vlne et dimidia Pers'	.j. furura	.j. Capucium de Boga.
scarletus	Eidem ad robam tabardum [1] et clocham	.j. pannus scarletus	.v. furure et dimidia furura	.ij. Capucia de Boga.
Mixtus	Eidem ad robam et clocham [1]	.xiij. vlne de quodam panno Mixto de quibus .v. vlne de societate Lucans'		
Triple Wortested'	Eidem ad robam	.ij. panni de Wortested Ad idem .j. Camel' de Triple		
Cangium	Eidem ad Tunicam	.j. Cangium emptum de Mercatoribus.		
Burnettum	Eidem ad Caligas	.iiij. vlne de Burneto		
Wortestede	Dom. Edmundo de Mortuo Mari ad robam	.j. pannus de Wortested'		
Triple	Eidem ad robam predictam lineandam	.j. Camel' de Triple.		
Bluetus	Mag. Roberto Medico	.vij. vlne Blueti.	j. furura Squirell'	.j. Capucium Strell'.
Radiatus	Johanni de Lingefeld'.	vij. vlne Radiati.		

[1] *Written over an erasure.*

Mixtus	Dom. Willelmo de Montereuell' ad robam.	Dimidius pannus Mixtus.		
Mixtus	Dom. Hugoni de Turba villa ad robam.	Dimidius pannus Mixtus		
Radiatus	Duncano quando iuit in partibus suis ad robam.	Dimidius pannus Radiatus.	j. furura	j. Capucium de Boga.
. Jaunus Burnettum	Pro Hucia Palefrido dom.	iiij. vlne et dimidia Burneti. Dimidia vlna Jauni.		
P. Burnettum. Radiatum	Remundo de Sulya ad robam partitam.[1]	vij. vlne Burnetti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Duncano de Argeil ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Johanni de Bello Campo ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Johanni de Hasteng' ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	.j. Capucium Boge
	Roberto de Eadem ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	.j. furura	.j. Capucium Boge.
	Johanni Paynel ad robam partitam.	viij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Waltero de Molesworth' ad robam partitam.	.vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	.j. furura	.j. Capucium Boge.
	Roberto le Waleys ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Edmundo de Bakebuss' ad robam partitam	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	.j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Roberto scarlett' ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Roberto Baterkin ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	.j. Capucium Boge.
	Ricardo de Winton' ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Johanni Tigr' ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Ade Le Harpeur ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Wrennoc abadam ad robam partitam	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Petro Brikon ad robam partitam	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j. Capucium Boge.
	Hugoni de Oxonia ad robam partitam	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j. furura	j Capucium Boge.
	Johanni de Worteleg' ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j furura	j Capucium Boge.
	Philippo de Eya ad robam partitam	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j furura	j Capucium Boge.
	Waltero de Stokeby ad robam partitam	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j furura	j Capucium Boge.
	Benedicto Le vyleur ad robam partitam.	vij. vlne Burneti Radiati	j furura	j Capucium Boge.

[1] *Query* partialem *throughout.*

ℙBluettus . Radiatus	Johanni Paynel ad robam partitam.	viij. vlne Blueti Radiati	j. furura	j Capucium Boge
Radiatus	Johanni le Conuers ad robam integram	.vij. vlne Radiati	j furura	j Capucium Boge.
Radiatus	Johanni de Boking' de Radiato.	vij. vlne Radiati	j. furura	j Capucium Boge
Radiatus	Roberto de Bradefeld' ad robam Radiatam.	vij. vlne Radiati	j furura	j Capucium Boge.
Bluetus	Waltero de Reygny ad Tabardum.	.iiij. vlne Blueti		

Mappe . Manutergia . Canabus	Ad Garderobam	.iiij. Manutergia . pro speciebus dandis in Camera domini
	Ad Panetriam	.ij. Mappe . continentes xviij. vlnas ij supermappe continentes vj. Tuallia
	Ad Panetriam	.lx. vlne Canabi pro Mappis iiij. Manutergia pro Casio
	Ad Botellariam	.v. vlne Canabi. pro argento Mundando
	Ad Coquinam	.v. vlne Canabi pro Naperonis faciendis
Tela	Dom. ad lineas robarum faciendas videlicet ad quatuor paria	xx. vlne tele de Leges
	Eidem ad .ij. paria Linchiaminum facienda.	.lx. vlne . tele de Leg'.
. scendallum	Pro indirecto .j. Coopertorii de veluetto facto ad opus dom.	.iiij. pecie sindonis rubei fortis.
	Pro eodem Coopertorio ad Cubitandum inter directum et indirectum.	.iij. pecie sindonis rubei debilis.
. samittum	Pro Bordura eiusdem Coopertorii de veluetto.	.j. samittum rubeum . forte
. scindon'	Pro directo et indirecto .j. gard[ecors] facti ad opus eiusdem.	.j. . pecia . sindonis rubei fortis
	Item ad Cubitandum in eodem gardecors' quia quadruplex	.j. pecia et dimidia sindonis rubei . debilis
	Pro directo et indirecto j. Gard[ecors] facti ad opus eiusdem	.j. pecia sindonis viridis fortis.
	Item ad Cubitandum in eodem gard[ecors] quia quadruplex	.j. pecia sindonis viridis debilis
	Pro[1] directo .j. Materacii de sindone cum Bordura.	.iij. pecie sindonis rubei fortis
Card'	Pro indirecto eiusdem Materacii	xviij. vlne de Card' Ind'.
scimdon	Pro directo j. Materacii duplicis de sindone cum bordura	iij pecie sindonis rubei fortis.
Card'	Pro indirecto eiusdem Materacii.	xviij. vlne de Card' Ind'.
scindon	Item ad cubitandum inter directum et indirectum	.iij. pecie sindonis rubei debilis.
[m. 3 d] Card'	Pro vno Canabo ad lectum dom. facto de Card'.	xv. vlne Card' viridis
	Pro indirecto .j. Culcitre puncte cum Bordura de serenis.	xxj vlne Card' viridis.

[1] Pro *written over an erasure.*

. sargie	Dom. Comiti de Glouernia de dono dom.	j. sargia sceker'
	Dom. ad lectum suum.	j sargia scheker'
Pannus ad aurum	Ecclesie sancte Trinitatis Lond' pro Johanne de Worteleg' mortuo.	j. pannus ad aurum
. Platee	Dom. Henrico Capellano dom. E. de Mortuo Mari de dono.	j. par. platearum
gladius	Dom. Edmundo de Mortuo Mari de Mutuo	j. gladius
. Ciphi	Dom. Johanni de vallibus de dono dom. per Manus dom. Abel.	j. Ciphus deauratus cum coopertulo.
	Dom. Willelmo de Saham de dono dom. per Manus Mag. .R. de Oxonia	j. Ciphus deauratus cum Coopertulo.
	Dom. Johanni de Metingham de dono dom. per visum .W. de Melk'.	j. Ciphus deauratus cum coopertulo.
	Dom. Officiali Curie Cantuariensis Et dom. Decano de Arcubus per Manus Mag. Radulphi de Oxonia et Thome de Cardoleo.	ij Ciphi deaurati sine coopertulis.
	Dom. Edmundo de Mortuo Mari de dono dom. per Manus .W. de Reygny.	j. Ciphus argenteus
Selle	Dom. Bogoni de Clara	j sella cum Pauone.
	Eidem.	j sella de Alamann'.
	Dom. Rogero de Moubray	j sella Cum Pauone.
	Dom. Ricardo de Brus'	j. sella Brondata.
	Dom. Hugoni de Turba villa	j. sella Brondata
	Simoni de Florencia Mercatori	j. sella Camoyseata nigra.
	Dom. .W. de Stok'	j sella Cum Pauone
	Mag. Radulpho de Oxonia	j sella Cum Pauone
	Dom. Willelmo de Melk'	j sella cum Pauone.
	Dom. Abel	j sella cum Pauone
	Mag. Thome de Cardol'	j sella cum Pauone
	Dom. Thome le Fox.	j sella cum Pauone
	Dom. Ricardo de Bures.	ij [1] selle cum Pauonibus.
	Waltero de Reygny'	j sella cum Pauone.
liberaciones Equorum	Mag. Johanni de Caham de dono dom.	j. Equus
	Ricardo le Barbeur de dono dom.	j. Equus Eidem j Tabardum.
	Pro longa Carecta dom.	j. Equus.
	Dom. Henrico Capellano dom. Edmundi de Mortuo Mari	j. Equus.
.vestimentum	Dom. Episcopo Bochon' de dono dom.	j vestimentum de samicto Indico
. Aluaria	Dom. Abel de Horkeleg'	ij. Aluaria portata apud Tach[eham].
Faldinga . clocha	Willelmo foleiaumbe de dono dom.	j. faldinga j. clocha.

[1] *Written over an erasure.*

Summa empcionum pannorum	.x. vlne et dimidia persei. .j. pannus de scarleto. .j. pannus .xiij. vlne Mixti. .iij. panni .xj. vlne et dimidia Burnetti xvij. vlne et dimidia de Blueto. xxxix. vlne Tirreten' dimidia vlna Jauni. .iiij. panni et dimidius . et .vij. vlne Radiati .iij. panni de Worcested'. .ij. Camelin' de Triple. .j. pannus Cangii. .j. pannus ad aurum	Summa liberacionum pannorum	.x. vlne et dimidia persei. .j. pannus de scarleto. .j. pannus .xiij. vlne Mixti iij. panni et .xj. vlne et dimidia Burnetti. .xv. vlne et dimidia de Blueto. .dimidia vlna de panno Jauno .iiij. panni et dimidius . et .vij. vlne Radiati. iij. panni de Worcested'. .ij. Camelin' de triple. .j. pannus de Cangio. .j. pannus ad aurum.
Summa empcionum fururarum	.j. furura de Squirell'. .j. Capucium de strell'. xxxij. furure et dimidia . Boge xx[x *erased*]ix furure ad Capucia Boge	Summa liberacionum fururarum.	.j. furura de Squirell'. .j. Capucium de strell' xxxij. furure et dimidia.. Boge .xxix. furure ad Capucia Boge.
Summa empcionum Mapparum sindonum	.ij Mappe. .ij. supermappe continentes .vj. Manutergia. .viij. Manutergia. Sindones .xx. pecie et dimidia.	Summa liberacionum Mapparum sindonum	.ij. Mappe ij. supermappe continentes .vj. Manutergia. viij. Manutergia. xx. pecie et dimidia sindonum
Summa empcionum Canabi	lxx. vlne Canabi.	Summa liberacionum Canabi	lxx. vlne Canabi.
Summa empcionum tele . card' sargiarum gladiorum . platearum.	.Cj. vlne tele. .lxxij. Card'. .ij. sargie. .j. gladius. .iij. paria platearum.	Summa liberacionum tele . card'. sargiarum . gladiorum . platearum	iiij^{xx}. vlne tele. lxxij. vlne Card'. ij. sargie. .j. gladius. j. par platearum.
Summa empcionum . ciphorum . sellarum . Banquariorum	.vij[1] Ciphi. xviij. selle. .j. Banquarium .v. Tapeta.	Summa liberacionum Ciphorum . sellarum.[2]	.vj. Ciphi. xv. selle.
		+	
[*m. 4 d*] Summa empcionum equorum	.vj. Equi.	Summa liberacionum equorum	.iiij. Equi

[*Endorsed*] Finalis compotus .W. de Reyngny de tempore quo fuit Garderobarius et ante etcetera

[1] *Corrected from* viij.

[2] *An erasure follows.*

APPENDIX III

Exchequer Accounts, Various, bundle 91, no 7.

(Collated with the counter-roll, no. 6, here referred to as *A*, the more important variations in which will be found in the foot-notes.)

Recepciones Walteri de Regny Garderobarii dom. Bogonis de Clara a die Martis in festo Natiuitatis dom. Anno eiusdem / M°. cc̃. Lxx̃x / Quinto . vsque diem Dominicam in festo [1]Pentecostes Anno Lxxx Sexto[1]. [*m.* 1] [*A. m.* 1]

[*Col. A*]

De Waltero de Molesworth'. Liij. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
De Mag. stephano de Balliolo. xx. li'.
De Firmariis prebende de Stafforde p̀r manus fratris Willelmi le Rous. xj. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
De Firmario de Forthingbrig' per manus dom. Radulphi de Berners vicecomitis Oxon'. xx. li'.
De Henrico capellano dom. Edmundi de Mortuo mari per manus Mag. Hugonis de Stanford'. x. li'
De Waltero Antoygne clerico London'. xxx. s'.
De societate Mozorum per manus Benche. vj. li'.
De Eadem per manus eiusdem alia vice. C. li'.
De Eadem per manus eiusdem. xxx. li'.
De Firmario de Kykehamton'.[2] lxx. s'.
De Arreragiis dom. Radulphi de sicca villa. xxx. li'.
De Arreragiis Mag. Roberti Coci et Rogeri le Waleys. xj. s'.
De Arreragiis Mag. Thome de Cardoleo. C. vij. s'. viij. d'.
De Arreragiis dom. Abel de Horkeleye. lx.[3] li'.
De Johanne Wyn balliuo de Owinge. xxxiij. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.

[*Col. B*]

De Thesaurario Noui Templi London' de termino Pasche anno gracie M°. cc̃. lxx̃x sexto. L. s'
De dom. Willelmo de Melkessam post Pascha anno dom. M°. cc̃. lxx̃x sexto. C. xvj. li'.
De Firmario de Forhingbrig' per manus dom. Radulphi de Berners vicecomitis Oxon'. vj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
De Firmario de Polsted' post Pascha anno supradicto. xvj. li'.
De Firmario Altellagii de Polstede. Liij. s'. iiij. d'.
De Mag. Stephano de Balliolo firmario de Haliwelle de termino sancti Michaelis anno gracie M°. cc̃. lxx̃x quinto. viij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.
De Hospitali sancti Johannis London' de termino Ascensionis dom. anno gracie[4] .M°. cc̃. lxx̃x sexto. xxvj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.

[*At foot of cols. A and B*]

Summa pred. recepcionis. D. Lxiiij. li'. .ij. s'.

[*Written in a small handwriting at foot of m. under the stitches*:] [5]Johannes. de Weston'. recepit .vij. pecias.[5]

Empciones liberaciones et Expense facte per manus Walteri de Regny[6] a die Martis in festo Natiuitatis dom. Anno eiusdem M°. cc̃. lxx̃x. quinto vsque diem dominicam in festo Pasche Anno. lxx̃x sexto. [*m.* 2]

[1-1] *Torn away in A.*
[2] Kilkehamton' *A.*
[3] *An erasure after* lx.
[4] eiusdem *A.*
[5-5] *Not in A.*
[6] pred. Walteri *A.*

Debitum super vltimo compoto

¶In debito in quo dom. tenebatur Creditoribus suis London' super vltimo finali compoto pred. Walteri. CCxxviij. li'. xix. s'. viij. d'.

Summa CCxxviij. li'. xix. s'. viij. d'.

Panni et furure

De Waltero de Rokeslege .vij. vlne et dimidia Radiati empte ad opus Rogeri clerici de dono dom. precium vlne .iij. s'. iiij. d'. — Summa xxv. s'.

De Johanne de Lincoln' Draperario .xvj. vlne Tirreten' Radiati empte ad opus Duncani de Argoyl de dono dom. precium vlne .ij. s'. ij. d'. — Summa xxxiiij. s'. viij. d'.

Item ad opus eiusdem de dono dom. .ij. furure et .ij. Capucia de Boga precium furure et Capucii .vj. s'. iij. d'. — Summa xij. s'. vj. d'.

Eidem Duncano lib. ad exp. suas versus Sociam de dono dom. Liij. s'. iiij. d'. — Summa Liij. s'. iiij. d'.

Summa vj. li'. v. s'. vj. d'

[1] Tela et Canabus [1]

De Johanne de Borewelle .lx. vlne tele de Leges empte pro duobus paribus Linchiaminum ad opus dom. faciendis precium vlne .x. d'. — Summa .L. s'.

Item pro Custura duorum parium Linchiaminum de pred. tela .xvj. d'. — Summa xvj. d'

De Eodem vna tela de Ailseham [2] empta ad duas supermappas faciendas continens .xvj. vlnas precium vlne .iij. d'. o'. — Summa iiij. s'. viij. d'.

Dè Eodem ad Longam Carectam .xviij. vlne Canabi precium vlne .ij. d'. o'. — Summa iij. s'. ix. d'.

Item pro custura eiusdem Canabi .ij. d'. — Summa ij. d'.

Item [pro reparatura *interl.*] cuiusdam Burse de serico facte ad opus dom. per manus Ricardi de Winton' .xvj. d'. — Summa xvj. d'.

Item pro vno pare [3] Paneriorum coopertorum de Coreo empto pro Coquina per manus Roberti Coci .vj. s'. — Summa vj. s'.

Summa lxvij. s'. iij. d'.

[*m. 3*]

De Quodam Aurifabro London' .j. Ciphus argenteus cum pede et coopertulo et coffino corei emptus ad opus dom. precium .L. s'. — Summa L. s'.

De Eodem ad opus eiusdem .j. Ciphus argenteus cum pede et coopertulo et coffino corei emptus precium .xxxviij. s'. vj. d'. — Summa xxxviij. s'. vj. d'.

Item In Aumentacione duorum peluium veterum ponderis .iiij. li'. xlv. s'. x. d'. — Summa xlv. s'. x. d'.

Item pro reparatura eorundem cum scuticis aureis et aumellacione .xx. s'. — Summa xx. s'.

[1] Tela Canabus et alia *A*.

[2] Aillseham *A*.

[3] pari *A*.

Iocalia	Item In Augmentacione duorum peluium veterum ponderis . Centum solidorum .xlvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xlvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xvj. li'. xiiij. s'. iiij. d'.
	Item pro reparatura eorundem cum scuticis aureis et aumellacione xx. s'.	Summa .xx. s'.	
	De Eodem[1] Aurifabro .j. Ciphus argenteus cum cooperculo et pede emptus et datus dom. Willelmo de Carleton' precium .L. s'.	Summa .L. s'.	
	De Eodem pro vno firmaculo aureo empto et dato Ricardo clerico eiusdem dom. .W. vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	
	De Eodem pro vno Cipho argenteo cum pede et coopertulo empto et dato dom. Roberto de Walmesford' precium .xliij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa xliij. s'. iiij. d'.	
	De Eodem pro vno Cipho argenteo sine pede et cooperculo empto et dato dom. Henrico clerico de Breuibus Scaccarii precium .xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	

[*In another handwriting:*]

Psumma expensarum[2] cum arreragiis vltimi compoti vsque huc —— CCLv. li'. vj. s'. ix. d'. [*m. 4*]

De Thoma Romano .CC .j. quarteria cere empta precium Centum .xlvj. s'.	Summa Ciij. s'. vj. d'.	[*A. m. 2*]
Item pro factura Candelarum Torchiarum . et Torticum de eadem cera videlicet pro libra .o'.	Summa .ix. s'. iiij. d'. o'.	
De Eodem .CCCC. et dimidium Amigdalarum precium Centum .xx. s'.	Summa iiij. li'. x. s'.	
De Eodem .C. Amigdalarum precium .xvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xvj. s'. viij. d'.	
De Eodem xv. libre Ris pro Coquina precium libre .j. d'. o'.	Summa xxij. d'. o'.	
De Eodem .iiij. fraella ficuum et Recemorum precium fraelli .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa xviij. s'.	
De Eodem .xij. libre et dimidia ficuum et Racemorum precium libre .j. d'. o'.	Summa xviij. d'. o'. q^{a}.	
De Eodem xij. libre piperis empte pro pulueribus faciendis ad coquinam precium libre .vij. d'. o'.	Summa vij. s'. vj. d'.	
De Eodem xij. libre Cumn' empte pro pulueribus faciendis ad Coquinam precium . libre .iiij. d'.	Summa iiij. s'.	
De Eodem viij. libre et dimidia de Safferan empte ad Coquinam precium libre .v. s'. vj. d'.	Summa xlvj. s'. ix. d'.	
De Eodem .xij. libre Gingybris[3] empte pro pulueribus faciendis ad coquinam precium libre .ix. d'.	Summa .ix. s'.	

[1] predicto *A.* [2] *Add* istius rotuli *A.* [3] Zinciberis *A.*

Speciaria	De Eodem .x.[1] libre Canelle empte pro pulueribus faciendis ad Coquinam precium libre .ix. d'.	Summa vij. s' vj. d'.	Summa xxix. li'. xvij. s'. ix. d'. o'. q^{a}.
	De Eodem viij. libre. Galing' empte pro pulueribus faciendis ad Coquinam precium libre .xviij. d'.	Summa xij. s'.	
	De Eodem xxviij. libre Zucre empte pro Coquina precium libre .ix. d'.	Summa xxj. s'.	
	De Eodem .iiij. libre et dimidia Gariofilorum empte pro Coquina precium libre .iiij. s'.	Summa xviij. s'.	
	De Eodem .ij. libre Quibib' empte pro Coquina precium libre .iij. s'.	Summa vj. s'.	
	De Eodem .j. libra Mac' empta pro Coquina precium .iij. s'.	Summa iij. s'.	
	De Eodem xxviij. libre . Datilium empte pro Coquina precium libre .iiij. d'.	Summa ix. s'. iiij. d'.	
	De Eodem .vj. pomi garneti[2] empti pro coquina precium pomi .iij. d'.	Summa xviij. d'.	
	De Eodem lxvj. libre albi[3] pulueris empte pro Garderoba et in parte pro coquina precium libre .x. d'.	Summa Lv. s'.	
	De Eodem xv. libre Gran' precium libre .iij. d'.	Summa iij. s'. ix. d'.	
	De Eodem .ij. pixides magne de Pign'[4] precium pixidis .x. s'.	Summa .xx. s'.	
	De . Eodem .viij. pixides Pign'[5] de quibus quatuor misse fuerunt dom. Jacobo de Hispania precium pixidis .v. s'.	Summa .xl. s'.	
	Eidem pro verberatura[6] diuersorum puluerum de pred. speciebus .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa iiij. s'. vj. d'.	
	De Quodam Lumbardo pro duabus Gurdis Gingibris[7] emptis ponderis .xliiij. li'. precium libre .ij. s'.	Summa iiij. li'. viij. s'.	
Sindones de Mercatoribus Luc'	De Mercatoribus Luc' .iij. pecie syndonis rubei ponderis xxxix. vnciarum precium . vncie .xij. d'.	Summa	Summa nil quia dominus satisfaciet eis
	De Eisdem vj. pecie syndonis rubei fortis ponderis lxviij. vnciarum precium vncie .xij. d'.	Summa	
	De Eisdem .iij. pecie syndonis viridis ponderis .Lij. vnciarum . precium vncie .x. d'.	Summa	
	De quodam Mercenario London'[8] pro vna pecia syndonis viridis empta ponderis[8] .xvj. vnciarum precium vncie .xij. d'.	Summa xvj. s'.	

[1] *Written over an erasure.*
[2] garnati *A.*
[3] *Extended* albe *A.*
[4] pixides pignonad' *A.*
[5] pignonad' *A.*
[6] batura *A.*
[7] Gingibras' *A.*
[8–8] .j. pecia syndonis viridis ponderis *A.*

factura Culcitrarum	De Eodem lxvj. vlne Card' empte pro indirecto Culcitrarum precium vlne .iiij. d'.	Summa xxij. s'.	Summa .iiij. li'. ij. s'. ij. d'.
	In lana empta ad cubitandum in vna culcitra facta ad opus dom. de duobus pannis de Cangy Radiato ij. s'. x. d'.	Summa .ij. s'. x. d'.	
	Item pro quatuor vnciis serici emptis ad consuendam pred. Culcitram .iiij. s'. precium vncie .xij. d'.	Summa iiij. s'.	
	Item pro custura eiusdem Culcitre viij. s'. x. d'.	Summa viij. s'. x. d'.	
	Item in Beueragio Custurariorum pred. Culcitram consuencium .viij. d'. o'.	Summa viij. d'. o'.	
	Item In lana empta ad Cubitandum in vno Materacio viridi facto ad opus dom. .iij. s'. ix. d'.	Summa iij. s'. ix. d'.	
	Item pro tribus vnciis serici emptis ad consuendum pred. Materacium .iij. s'. precium vncie .xij. d'.	Summa iij. s'.	
	Item pro Custura eiusdem Materacii vij. s'.	Summa vij. s'.	
	In Beueragio Custurariorum .vj. d'.	Summa vj. d'.	
	Item In Coton' empto ad cubitandum in vna Culcitra de syndone rubeo facta ad opus dom. .xvj. d'. o'.	Summa xvj. d'. o'.	
	Item in quatuor vnciis serici emptis ad dictam Culcitram consuendam .iiij. s'.	Summa .iiij. s'.	
	Item pro custura eiusdem Culcitre vij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa .vij. s'. vj. d'.	
	Item In Beueragio Custurariorum pred. Culcitram consuencium .viij. d'.	Summa viij. d'.	
Liberacio facta in denariis	Mag. Thome de Cardoleo pro exp. suis versus Exon' .xl. s'.	Summa xl. s'.	Summa vij. li'. viij. s'
	Roberto Barbatonsori pro seruicio suo de dono dom. .xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	
	Mag. Willelmo de Burnham[1] pro exp. suis versus Lincoln' v. s'.	Summa .v. s'.	
	Waltero Antoigne clerico de dono dom. v. s'.	Summa v. s'.	
	Mag. Andree de sancto Albano prosequenti placitum de Melton' Moubray .xxix. s'. vj. d'.	Summa .xxix. s'. vj. d'.	
	Fratri Willelmo de Sancto Lazaro pro exp. suis de London' usque Stafford' eundo et redeundo vna cum locacione equorum de Stafford' usque London' .xxx. s'.	Summa xxx. s'.	
	Willelmo de Creton' prosequenti placitum Ricardi de Cros per quinque dies apud Gildeford' eundo et redeundo .v. s'.	Summa .v. s'.	
	Ricardo de Cros pro exp. suis prosequenti idem placitum per pred. quinque dies .x. d'.	Summa .x. d'.	

[1] Brunham *A*.

	. In Exp. Walteri Page moram facientis London' per triginta sex dies pro brachio suo curando .vj. s'. per diem .ij. d'.	Summa vj. s'.	
Expense	ℙ Mag. Radulpho de Oxon' moram facienti London' pro negociis dom. expediendis .xx. s'.	Summa .xx s'.	Summa vj. li'. xj. s'.
	ℙ Dom. Willelmo de Melk'[1] moram facienti London' pro negociis dom. ibidem expediendis .xxv. s'.	Summa .xxv. s'.	
	ℙ Mag. Willelmo de Burnham prosequenti placitum Ricardi de Cros apud Gildeford' per quatuor dies / iiij. s'.	Summa iiij. s'.	
	ℙ Ricardo de Cros prosequenti dictum placitum per idem tempus vna cum mora sua facta London' expectanti aduentum dom. per duodecim dies .ij. s'. percipienti per diem .ij. d'.	Summa ij. s'.	
	ℙ[2] In Exp. Walteri de Regny moram facientis London' a die Mercurii proxima post Epiphaniam dom. vsque diem Mercurii proximam post Purificacionem videlicet per xxx. dies percipientis per diem .ij. s'.	Summa lx. s'.	
	ℙ[2] In Exp. Henrici de Annesleye clerici et Thome le Armurer per idem tempus .xx. s' percipientium per diem .viij. d'.	Summa xx. s'.	
[*m. 5*] Expense Nunciorum	In Exp. Dorking' deferentis litteras de London' vsque Polstede pro pecunia ad opus dom. habenda viij. d'.	Summa viij. d'.	Summa iij. s'. vj. d'.
	In Exp. Henrici Haddok' deferentis [litteras *interl.*] de London' usque ad domum Walteri le Waleys firmarii de Foringbrig' pro pecunia[3] habenda ad opus dom. .xij. d'.	Summa xij. d'.	
	In Exp. Henrici Haddok' deferentis litteras dom. apud Tregruk' de London' tangentes Compotum dom. Abel .viij. d'.	Summa viij. d'.	
	In Exp. Kirkeby deferentis litteras dom. apud Tregruk' de London' .viij. d'.	Summa viij. d'.	
	In Exp. Dorking' defferentis litteras dom. Regis dom. directas .vj. d'.	Summa vj. d'.	
Empciones Equorum	Pro vno Equo empto de Mag. Thoma de Cardoleo ad opus dom. .Cvij. s'. viij. d'.	Summa Cvij. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vij. li' vij. s'. viij. d'.
	Pro vno Equo empto de Johanne Wyn et dato Martino vadletto Regine[4] .xl. s'.	Summa xl. s'.	

ℙ[5] Summa expensarum vsque huc secundum quod patet per alium rotulum .Lv. li'. x. s'. j. d'. o'. q^{a}.[5]

[1] Melkessam *A.* [2] Item *struck through in A.* [3] i *inserted above line.* [4] domine Regine *A.*
[5–5] *A has* Summa . istius ro[tuli] . [ex parte ista *interl.*] Lv. li'. x. s'. j. d'. o'. q^{a}. *in a different hand-writing from that of the text.*

[*A. m. 3*]

Empciones sellarum[1]	ℙPro vna sella fust' empta ad opus dom. precium .xiiij. s'.	Summa xiiij. s'.	Summa xxviij. s'.
	ℙPro vna sella empta ad opus Galfridi Scurlage .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	
	ℙPro vna sella empta ad opus Henrici le Braban .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	
	ℙPro vno pari singularum empto ad opus dom. pro pred. sella .viij. d'.	Summa viij. d'.	
Liberacio facta in denariis	ℙRelicte Mag. Ruffini de dono L. s'.	Summa L. s'.	Summa xxxviij. li'. xv. s'. vj. d'.
	ℙSimoni de Pecco de Panetria pro seruicio suo de dono dom. xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	
	ℙMag. Thome de Cardoleo pro exp. dom. faciendis versus Tregruk' .xx. li'.	Summa xx. li'.	
	ℙRemundo de Sulya et Johanni Paynel ad exp. suas versus Tregruk' .xx. s'.	Summa xx. s'.	
	ℙRoberto Da venienti de Hibernia ad vnam Tunicam emendam ad opus suum de dono dom.[2] .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa iiij. s'. vj. d'.	
	ℙMag. Roberto de Kinton' pro sallario suo .xl. s'.	Summa xl. s'.	
	ℙProcuratori dom. de Arcubus London' pro sallario suo .xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	
	ℙMag. Roberto Coco pro debitis suis acquietandis de dono dom. .vj. li'.	Summa vj. li'.	
	ℙEidem de dono dom. pro exp. suis versus Tregruk' .xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	
	ℙWaltero Antoigne pro vna sella emenda ad opus suum de dono dom. .v. s'.	Summa v. s'.	
	ℙTresdecim Garcionibus dom. pro Calciatura sua de Anno dom. M°. cc°. lxx°x° quinto Lij. s' Cuilibet per annum quatuor solidi	Summa Lij. s'.	
	ℙDuobus Pag' dom. de dono suo ad Calciaturam iiij. s'. cuilibet .ij. s'.	Summa iiij. s'.	
	ℙHenrico de Flete Custodi de Prisona de Flete de dono .xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	
soluciones facte pro[3] tempore Abel	ℙDom. Willelmo de Stok' pro Arreragiis feodi sui de tempore dom. Abel .C. s'.	Summa C. s'.	Summa lxviij. li'. viij. s'. iij. d'.
	ℙDom. Anketino pannario pro diuersis pannis ab eodem emptis ad opus dom. per manus dom. Abel .xxxj. li'. iiij. d'.	Summa xxxj. li'. iiij. d'.	
	ℙMatilde La Potagere pro potagio ab eadem empto tempore dom. Abel / iiij. s'. v. d'.	Summa iiij. s'. v. d'.	
	ℙLucasio Pistori pro pane ab eodem empto tempore dom. Abel .iiij. li'. xiij. d'.	Summa iiij. li'. xiij. d'.	
	ℙJohanni de Arcubus pro vino ab eodem empto ad opus dom. tempore predicti Abel xiiij. li'. xij. s'. ix. d'.	Summa xiiij. li'. xij. s'. ix. d'.	

[1] Cellarum *and* Cella *throughout in A.*

[2] *An erasure after* dom.

[3] de *A.*

ℙElie Russel et Willelmo Piscatori pro residua parte solucionis antiqui debiti sui de tempore pred. .A. xj. li'. vij. s'.	Summa xj. li'. vij. s'.	
ℙLucasio Pistori pro residua parte solucionis antiqui debiti sui de tempore pred. .A. xlij. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xlij. s'. viij. d'.	
ℙAdekino Janitori pro seruicio suo de dono dom. .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	
ℙRicardo de Gyuelton' defferenti litteras dom. domine Comitisse de Alba merl' ad exp. suas .iij. s'.	Summa iij. s'.	
ℙThome de Houton' clerico pro Arreragiis exp. suarum factarum circa negocia dom. anno gracie M° cc°. lxx°x quinto .iiij. s'. viij. d'.	Summa iiij. s'. viij. d'.	
ℙDom. Johanni Capellano pro exp. suis versus Ouing'[1] de dono dom. .x. s'.	Summa .x. s'.	
liberacio facta in denariis ℙThome de Houton' clerico pro exp. suis versus Patriam suam .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa Ciiij. s'. iiij. d'.
ℙRicardo de Winton' de dono dom. .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	
ℙAdekino Coco pro seruicio suo de dono dom. .xl. s'.	Summa .xl. s'.	
ℙLucasio de Coquina pro seruicio suo de dono dom. xiij s'. iiij. d'.	Summa xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	
ℙEdmundo de Bakebus et Roberto de Baderkin ad exp. suas de dono . dom . .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	
ℙJordano Cissori pro seruicio suo de dono dom. .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	
ℙIn Exp. Willelmi de Creton' de London' vsque Kilkehamton' precepto dom. .xx. s'.	Summa xx. s'.	
ℙIn Exp. Johannis Tygre moram facientis London' post recessum dom. . per xv. dies xij. s'. vj. d' percipientis per diem .x. d'.	Summa xij. s'. vj. d'.	
ℙIn Exp. eiusdem de London' vsque Tregruk' per sex dies .vj. s'.	Summa vj. s'.	
ℙIn exp. eiusdem recedentis de Thacham vsque London' vna cum mora sua ibidem facta ante[2] aduentum dom. .vj. s'.	Summa vj. s'.	
ℙIn Turb' emptis pro Herbario faciendo apud Garderobam .iij. s'. x. d'.	Summa iij. s'. x. d'.	
ℙIn Herbis diuersis emptis ad idem .x. d'. o'.	Summa x. d'. o'.	
ℙIn stipendio cuiusdam hominis reparantis Herbarium per tres septimanas percipientis per septimanam .xviij. d'.	Summa iiij. s'. vj. d'.	
ℙItem Cuidam Garcioni ipsum coadiuuanti per septem dies .xiiij. d'.	Summa xiiij. d'.	

[1] Owyge *A*.

[2] a *of* ante *written over* L.

Expense	ℙIn Exp. Johannis de Ry[1] moram facientis London' a die Jouis in festo sancti Benedicti Abbatis vsque diem Sabbati proximam post Pascham videlicet per .xxxj. diem [*sic*]. percipientis per diem ij. d'.	Summa v. s'. ij. d'.	Summa iiij. li'. xv. s'. j. d'.
	ℙIn Exp. Roberti coci de Coquina moram facientis ibidem per idem tempus[2] percipientis per diem .j. d'. o'.	Summa iij. s'. x. d'. o'.	
	ℙIn Exp. Galfridi Palefridarii per idem tempus moram facientis London' cum vno Equo dom. percipientis per diem .j. d'. o'.	Summa iij. s'. x. d'. o'.	
	ℙIn Exp. Thome Mytein moram facientis ibidem per idem tempus cum vno Equo dom. percipientis per diem .j. d'. o'.	Summa iij. s'. x. d'. o'.	
	ℙIn Exp. [cuiusdam Garcionis *interl.*][3] Henrici le Braban moram facientis ibidem cum equo[4] dom. sui per idem tempus percipientis per diem .j. d' o'.	Summa iij. s'. x. d'. o'.	
	ℙIn Auena empta pro duobus Equis dom. et vno Equo Henrici le Braban perhendinantibus London' per idem tempus Cuilibet per diem . dimidius Bussellus auene precium .ij. d'.	Summa .xv. s'.	
	ℙIn Mareschaucia et ferrura[5] eorundem per idem tempus iij. s'. vij. d'. o'.	Summa iij. s'. vij. d'. o'.	
	ℙIn vna supercingula et vno Capit'[6] emptis pro vno Equo dom. per idem tempus xj. d'. o'.	Summa xj. d'. o'.	
Expense	ℙIn Exp. Walteri de Regny moram facientis London' per .xxxj. diem[7] [*sic*] videlicet a festo sancti Benedicti Abbatis anno gracie M°. cc̊. lxx̊x quinto vsque diem Sabbati proximam post Pascham anno dom. M° cc̊ lxx̊x sexto percipientis per diem .ij. s'.	Summa lxij. s'.	Summa iiij. li'. ij. s'. viij. d'.
	ℙIn Exp. Henrici de Annesleye clerici et Thome le Armurer per idem tempus percipiencium per diem .viij. d'	Summa xx. s'. viij. d'.[8]	
Expense	[9] In feno empto pro vno Equo faluo dom. Willelmi de Melkessam perhendinante London' pro quadam infirmitate quam habuit per sexaginta et vnum diem [*sic*] videlicet per diem .j. d'. ob'	Summa ij. s'. vj. d'. ob'.	Summa xxij. s'. vj. d'.
	In Auena empta pro Eodem per idem tempus videlicet per diem .ij. d'.	Summa .x. s'. ij. d'.	
	In Mareschaucia et ferrura eiusdem per idem tempus .ij. s'. ij. d'.	Summa ij. s'. ij. d'.	

[*m. 6*]

[1] Ris *A.* [2] tempus *omitted in A.* [3] *The words are in their proper order in A.*
[4] vno Equo *A* [5] et ferrura *interl. in A.* [6] Capistr' *A.* [7] per Triginta et vnum diem *A.*
[8] viij *written over an erasure.* [9] *The symbol* ℙ *is prefixed to each of the items in this section in A.*

	In vadiis cuiusdam Garcionis pred. Willelmi custodientis pred. Equum per idem tempus videlicet per diem .j. d'. ob'.	Summa vij. s'. vij. d'. ob'.	
Roba et Arreragia Dauit le le [*sic*] Grant	Dauit le Grant pro roba sua de Anno dom. M°. cc̊. lxx̊x quinto .xl. s'.	Summa xl. s'	Summa .iiij. li' xxiij. d'.
	Eidem pro Arreragiis in quibus dom. Eidem tenebatur super vltimo compoto suo xlj. s' xj. d'.	Summa xlj. s' xj. d'.	
Ex mutuo precepto dom.	Johanni Paynel de Comitatu Stafford' ex mutuo de precepto dom. .xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa patet	Summa xxvj. s' viij. d'.

[*In another handwriting.*]

Summa vsque huc a summa precedente[1] —— Cxxix. li'. iiij. s'. xj. d'.

[*A. m. 4*] ℙEmpciones liberaciones et Expense facte per manus Walteri de Regny Garderobarii dom. Bogonis de Clar' a die dominica in festo Pasche Anno dom. M°. cc̊. lxx̊x sexto vsque diem dominicam Pentecostes Anno Eodem.

Bleod'	De Waltero de Rokesleg'[2] .j. Pannus de Bleodo emptus ad opus dom. contra Pentecosten precium .vj. li'.	Summa vj. li'.	Summa xxiij. li'. x. s'
Pers'	De Eodem pro vno panno de Pers' empto ad opus eiusdem contra idem festum precium vj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa vj. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	
	De Eodem ad opus Mag. Gilberti de sancto Leophard' .j. pannus de Pers' precium .Cxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa .Cxvj. s' viij. d'.	
furure de Boga pro dom.	De Thoma de Honilane .ix. furure empte ad opus dom. pro duabus robis suis de Bleodo et Pers' furrandis precium furure .x. s'.	Summa .iiij. li'. x. s'.	
	De Eodem ad opus eiusdem .iiij. Capucia de Boga precium Capucii .ij. s' vj. d'.	Summa .x. s'.	
Bled[3] liberatus Militibus dom.	ℙDe Waltero pred. .j. Pannus de Bleodo emptus ad opus dom. Hugonis de Turba Will'[4] et Willelmi de Montereuell' precium .vj. li'.	Summa .vj. li'.	Summa xij. li'. vj. s' viij. d'.
furure de M' v' liberate eisdem	ℙDe Thoma de Oxon' .iiij. furure de . M'. v'. empte ad opus pred. dom. Hugonis et Willelmi precium furure xxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa .Cvj. s' viij. d'.	
	De Eodem ad opus eorundem .iiij. Capucia de . M'. v'. precium Capucii .v. s'.	Summa .xx. s'.	
furure de Boga	ℙDe Eodem .iij. furure et .iij. Capucia de Boga empta ad opus Perroti Nebulatoris. Johannis Ertant[5] et Jacobi Hostiarii de Scaccario dom. Regis precium furure et Capucii .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa .xiij. s'. vj. d'.	

[1] Summa istius . ro[tuli] . ex parte ista . *A.*
[2] Rokesleche *A.*
[3] Bleod' *A.*
[4] Turba villa *A.*
[5] Ertat *A.*

Radiati et Jauni pro Armigeris	De pred. Waltero ad opus Armigerorum dom. contra Pentecostem .iij. panni Radiati de Scarleto precium panni .iiij. li'. xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa xiiij. li'.	Summa xxiiij. li' xiij. s' vj. d'
	De Eodem ad opus Eorundem ad faciendam partem .iij. Pannorum Jaunorum [1] precium panni .lxvj. s'. viij. d'	Summa .x. li'.	
furure de Boga pro eisdem	De Thoma de Oxon' ad opus pred. Armigerorum contra festum Pentecostes .xx. furure et .xx. Capucia de Boga precium furure et Capucii .iiij. s'	Summa .iiij. li'.	Summa vj. li'.
Radiati et Jauni pro Armigeris	De pred. Waltero .vij. vlne Radiati de predicta secta precium vlne .iiij. s'. Et .vij. vlne Jauni precium vlne [2] .iij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa .lj. s'. iiij. d'.	xj. s' iiij. d'.
Tela et Canabus	[3] De Johanne de Borewelle .xx. .vj. vlne tele de Leges empte ad opus dom. pro Linthiaminibus et lineis Robarum faciendis precium vlne .x. d'.	Summa .C. s'.	Summa vj. li'. v. s'
	[3] De Eodem .C. vlne Canabi empte pro Mappis Manutergiis . Naperonibus et aliis necessariis faciendis precium vlne .ij. d'. ob'	Summa .xxv. s'	
Banquaria et Tapete	[3] Item pro vno Banquario empto ad opus dom. continente .ix. vlnas precium vlne .xiiij. d'.	Summa .x s'. vj. d'.	Summa xxij. s' ij. d'.
	[3] Item pro tribus Tapetis de Eadem secta continentibus [4] .x. vlnas precium vlne .xiiij. d'.	Summa xj. s'. viij. d'.	
	De Thoma Romano .C.j. quarteroni Cere empti precium Centene .xlvj. s'	Summa .lvij. s'. vj. d'.	
	Item pro factura eiusdem Cere .v. s'. ij. d'. ob' videlicet pro libra .ob'.	Summa v. s' ij. d'. ob'.	
	De Eodem .C. Amigdalarum precium .xx. s'. expenditi per diuersas vices	Summa xx. s'.	
	De Eodem .j. quarteronus Amigdalarum emptus pro festo Ascensionis et Eodem die expenditus precium .iiij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa iiij. s'. vj. d'.	
	De Eodem .xij. li'. Ris' precium libre .j. d'. ob'	Summa .xviij. d'.	
	De Eodem .x. libre ficuum et Racemorum empte et expendite per diuersas vices precium libre .ij. d'.	Summa .xx. d'.	
	De Eodem .iiij. li' et dimidia Croci [5] expendite per diuersas vices precium libre .v. s'.	Summa xxij. s'. vj. d'.	
	De Eodem .xij. li'. Datilium precium libre .iiij. d'	Summa iiij. s'.	
	De Eodem .vj. li' pulueris piperis empte pro Coquina precium libre .vij. d'. ob'.	Summa .iij. s'. ix. d'.	

[1] *For* Jaunorum *A has* Crocei coloris. [2] vlne *interl. in A.* [3] *The symbol* ℙ *prefixed in A.*
[4] continentibus *interl. in A.* [5] *A adds* empte et.

Speciaria	De Eodem .viij. libre pulueris de Gingibri[1] empte pro Coquina precium libre .ix. d'.	Summa .vj. s'.	Summa .xiiij. li'. xv. s'. vij. d'. ob'
	De Eodem .viij. li'. Cumn' empte pro pulueribus faciendis ad Coquinam precium libre .iiij. d'.	Summa ij. s'. viij. d'.	
	De Eodem .viij. li'. pulueris de Canell' empte pro Coquina precium libre .ix. d'.	Summa .vj. s'.	
	De Eodem .vj. li' Galing' empte pro pulueribus faciendis ad Coquinam precium libre .xviij. d'	Summa ix. s'.	
	De Eodem .ij. libre Pinc'.[2] empte pro Coquina .iiij. s'.	Summa iiij. s'.	
	De Eodem .xxxvj. li'. et dimidia Zucre empte pro Coquina precium libre .viij. d'	Summa .xxiiij. s'. iiij. d'.	
	De Eodem .j. li'.[3] .j. quarteronus Gilofer'[4] empti pro Coquina precium libre .iiij. s'.	Summa .v. s'.	
	De Eodem .j. libra[5]. Quibib' empta pro Coquina precium libre .ij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa .ij. s'. vj. d'.	
	De Eodem .j. libra et .j. quarteronus Maz' empti pro Coquina precium libre .iij. s'.	Summa iij. s'. ix. d'.	
	De Eodem .vj. Pomi garnati empti pro Coquina in festo Ascensionis Dom. precium Pomi .xij. d'.	Summa .vj. s'.	
	Eidem pro Batura puluerum ad Coquinam .ij. s'. iij. d'.	Summa ij. s'. iij. d'.	
	De Eodem pro[6] .xxxix. libris pulueris[7] emptis pro Garderoba et in parte pro Coquina precium libre .x. d'.	Summa xxxij. s' vj. d'.	
	De Eodem .xv. libre gran' empte pro Garderoba precium libre .iij. d'.	Summa iij. s'. ix. d'.	
	De Eodem .ij. Pixides Pignanad' empte de quibus .j. data dom. Jacobo de Hispania precium Pixidis .v. s'. vj. d'.	Summa xj. s'	
	De Eodem .j. pixid' [*sic*] de Pignad' magna data dom. Radulpho de Hengham precium .x. s'	Summa .x. s'	
	De Eodem .iij. Olle Zucre Rosarum et violarum continentes xxxv. li'. precium libre .ix. d'. de quibus .j. data dom. .W. de Bromthon' et alie erant empte pro festo Ascensionis	Summa xxvj. s'. iij. d'.	
	De Bono Mercatore de Florencia pro vna Gurda zinziberis[8] empta pro festo Ascensionis .xx. s'	Summa .xx. s'.	
	Pro vna Cuppa cum pede et Cooperculo empta et data dom. Radulpho de Hengham de dono dom. precium .vij. li'.	Summa vij. li'.	

[1] Zinziber' *A.* [2] Pins *A.* [3] et .j quarteron' *A.* [4] Gariofil' *A.*
[5] de Quibib' *A.* [6] *A omits* pro. [7] albi pulueris *A.* [8] zinzibras' *A.*

Jocalia	Pro quatuor Discis et quatuor salsariis argenteis de Nouo reparandis de quatuor discis et Quinque salsariis veteribus .viij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa viij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa xj. li'. viij. s'. vij. d'.
	Pro vno Cipho Argenteo cum pede et cooperculo empto et dato Commissario Decani de Arcubus London' precium .iiij. li'. j. d'.	Summa iiij. li'. j. d'.	
Ex mutuo precepto dom.	ℙ[1] Dom. Edmundo de Mortuo Mari de prestito per litteram dom. Henrici capellani sui .C. s'.	Summa patet[2]	Summa C. s'.

℗Summa[3] .Cv. li'. xij. s'. x. d'. ob'.

[*m.* 7]
[*A. m.* 5]

liberacio facta in denariis pro robis	[4] Dom. Roberto de Littlebyr'[5] pro Roba sua de festo Pentecostes	lxvj. s'. viij. d'	Summa lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa .xxviij. li'. vj. s'. viij. d'.
	Dom. Willelmo de Stokes pro roba sua de festo Pentecostes	C. s'.	Summa .C. s'.	
	Dom. Roberto de Retford[6] pro roba sua de festo Pentecostes	lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	
	Dom. Roulando de Doel Archideacono pro roba sua de eodem festo	lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa lxvj. s'. viij. d'	
	Mag. Radulpho de Oxonia pro roba sua de Eodem festo	lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	
	Mag. Thome de Cardoleo pro roba sua de eodem festo	lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	
	Dom.[7] de Melkessam pro roba sua de festo Pentecostes	lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	
	Dom. Waltero de Regny pro roba sua de festo Pentecostes	lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa lxvj. s'. viij. d'.	

[8] Pro vna Cella deaurata empta ad opus dom. ad arma dom. Gastonis de Bern'[9]	Summa xv. s'.	
Item pro duodecim Cellis ad arma eiusdem emptis ad opus sociorum suorum precium Celle .xiij. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa viij. li'.	

[1] *A has the following additional entry* [Dom. Willelmo de Melkessam super exp. domus dom. London' .x. li. Summa .x. li'. *struck through*] quia satisfecit Waltero.
[2] Summa C. s'. *A*.
[3] ℗Summa istius ro[tuli] ex parte ista *A*.
[4] *The symbol* ℙ *prefixed to each item in this section in A*.
[5] Littlebyry *A*.
[6] de *expunged in A*.
[7] Dom. Willelmo *A*.
[8] *The symbol* ℙ *prefixed to each item in this section in A*.
[9] ad arma Gastonis de Berne *A*. *A has also* .xv. s'. *immediately following*.

Empciones Cellarum

Item pro Brondura pred.[1] Celle dom. videlicet de armis predicti Gastonis .xx. s'.	Summa xx. s'.	Summa x. li'. xviij. s'. iiij. d'
Item pro tresdecim paribus Cingularum emptis ad opus dom. et sociorum suorum . precium paris .viij. d'.	Summa viij. s'. viij. d'.	
Item pro vna Cella ad summarium empta precium .viij. s'.	Summa viij s'.	
Item pro vna Cella empta ad opus Johannis Tygre .vj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa vj. s'. viij. d'.	

Emendacio Cellarum veterum

Pro vno Coffino Corii empto pro peluibus argenteis dom. .iiij. s'. Item pro vna Cella ad summarium de Pincerna empta precium .x. s'. [2] Item pro reparatura et emendacione quatuor Cellarum veterum ad summarios dom. .ij. s'. vj. d'.[2] Item pro emendacione Celle [3] ad summarium de lecto dom. .xv. d'. Item pro emendacione Cellarum dom. Roulandi et Walteri Antoigne / xviij. d'. Item pro emendacione Celle Galfridi scurlag' [4] .v. d'. ob'. Item pro emendacione trium frenorum pro summariis de lecto garderobe et Pincerna [5] dom. .viij. d'. ob'. Item pro septem paribus Cingularum emptis pro summariis dom. .ij. s'. Item pro vna tessua empta pro Cingulis faciendis .vj. d'. Item pro vno pare Cingularum empto pro Walteri Antoigne .vj. d'. Item pro ligatura cuiusdam gratuar' de Coquina .iiij. d'.

Summa xxiij s' ix. d'.

soluciones facte de tempore Abel [6]

ℙBoidino [7] carnifici in partem solucionis duodecim librarum quatuor decim solidorum et duorum denariorum eidem debitorum de tempore dom. Abel .iiij. li'.	Summa .iiij. li'.	Summa vij. li'. viij. d'.
ℙAdekino de Rokesleg' [8] pro compoto dom. Abel subtracto pro roba estiuali dom. Thome le Fox . de anno dom. M.°°° cc̊. lxx̊x quarto . s[cilicet] . de tempore Abel .xlvj. s'. viij. d'.	Summa xlvj. s'. viij. d'.	
ℙHugoni de Oxonia pro custura robarum dom. de anno gracie M° cc̊. lxx̊x quarto . s[cilicet] . de tempore dom. Abel .ix. s'.	Summa ix. s'.	
ℙEidem pro tribus vlnis syndonis [9] emptis eodem tempore pro dictis [10] robis ligandis .iij. s'.	Summa .iij. s'.	
ℙEidem pro duabus vnciis serici emptis pro dictis robis [11] consuendis precium vncie .xij. d'.	Summa .ij. s'.	

[1] pred. *omitted in A.*
[2–2] Item pro Emendacione vet' ad summar' dom. .ij. s'. vj. d'. *A.*
[3] selle *A.*
[4] Scurlage *A.*
[5] Pincerna *A and B.*
[6] dom. Abel *A.*
[7] Boydino *A.*
[8] Rokesleche *A.*
[9] Cyndonis *A.*
[10] predictis *A.*
[11] robis *omitted in A.*

Empciones vini	De Roberto de Rokesleg'[1] .xij. Dolia vini empta precium Dolii .xliij. s'. iiij. d'. visu Ricardi de Winton'. Item pro deo pro dictis doliis vini in Erland .j. d'.	Summa xxvj. li'. j. d'.	Summa xxvj. li'. j. d'
de dono dom.	ℙFratri Willelmo le Rous de dono dom. ad exp. suas versus Patriam suam	Summa	Summa.
Expense	In pargameno empto pro Rotulis Garderobe faciendis .ij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa .ij. s'. vj. d'.	Summa iij. s'. vij. d'. ob'.
	Item In portagio Hernesii dom. de Garderoba sua usque Domum suam iuxta Trinitatem videlicet per duas vices post Pascham .xiij. d'. ob'.	Summa xiij. d'. ob'	
.j. pannus de Worth' emptus et datus precepto dom.	ℙ[2] Pro vno Panno de Worth'[3] empto ad opus Mag. Monteri et Willelmi de Burnham[4] continente .xvj. vlnas precium vlne .vij. d'.	Summa ix. s'. iiij. d'.	Summa ix. s'. iiij. d'.
Recosio[5] pannorum	In Reconsione .ij. pannorum de Bleodo pro dom. et Militibus suis .ij. s'.	Summa ij. s'.	Summa .x. s'. vij. d'.
	In Reconsione .ij. pannorum de Pers' pro dom. et Mag. .G. de sancto Leophard' .ij. s'.	Summa .ij. s'.	
	In Reconsione .iij. pannorum Radiatorum et .iij. pannorum Jaun' pro Armigeris dom. .vj. s'	Summa vj. s'.	
	In Reconsione .vij. vlnarum Radiati et .vij. vlnarum Jauni de secta Armigerorum .vij. d'.	Summa vij. d'.	
De dono dom.	ℙPro quatuor vlnis Radiati emptis ad opus filii Henrici de Solers precium vlne .ij. s' vj. d'.	Summa x. s'.	Summa xxxvij. s'.
	Pro Nouem vlnis de quodam panno mixto emptis ad opus Mag. Monteri et .W. de Burnham ad supertunicas precium vlne .iij. s'. [iiij. d'. *obliterated*]	Summa xxvij. s'.	

[6] ℙSumma .Lxxvj. li'. x. s'. ob'.

ℙSumma [summarum *interl.*] tocius expense ex parte ista per totum. $\overset{c}{vj}$. xxij. li'. iiij. sol'. viij. d'. o'. q^a.

ℙSumma summarum tocius expense tam Hospicii quam Garderobe a festo Natiuitatis dom. vsque ad Pentecostem . scilicet de hospicio .CCC. xvij. li'. iiij. d'. et sic summa totalis tam

[1] Rokesleye *A.* [2] ℙ *omitted in A.* [3] Worthested *A.*
[4] Burham *A.* [5] Reconsio *A.*
[6] *A has this and in place of the following entries*: ℙSumma summarum omnium exp. istorum . ro[tulorum] . garderobe. $\overset{c}{vj}$. xxij. li'. iiij. s'. viij. d'. o'. q^a. preter exp. domus a festo Natiuitatis dom. vsque festum Pentecostes cuius summa talis est per idem tempus. .CCC.xvij. li'. iiij. d'. et sic est summa totalis tam domus quam garderobe in vniuerso per totum tempus pred. .$\overset{c}{ix}$. xxxix. li'. v. s'. o'. q^a. . Et sic excedunt expense receptam . in .CCC.Lxxv. .li'. iij. s'. o'. q^a.

domus quam Garderobe . per totum tempus pred. .fx. xxxix. li'. v. s'. o'. q^{a}. Et sic excedunt expense recepta . in . CCCLxxv. li'. iij. s'. o'. q^{a}

[*m. 4 d*]
[*A. m. 2 d*]

Radiatus de preempto	ℙJacobo Hostiario de Scaccario dom. Regis de dono dom. ad robam	vij. vlne Radiati de preempto	Eidem	j. furura.	j. Capucium de[1] Boga
	ℙPerroto Nebulatori de Curia dom. Regis de dono dom. ad robam	vij. vlne Radiati de preempto.	Eidem	j. furura	j Capucium de Boga
	ℙDicto Regi Lumbardorum de dono dom. ad robam.	vij. vlne Radiati de preempto.			
	ℙJohanni Ertat[2] seruienti de Curia dom. Regis Anglie ad robam	vij. vlne Radiati de preempto	Eidem.	j. furura	.j. Capucium de Boga

De Empcione Sindonum et Card' liberatarum

[3] De .xij. Sindonibus receptis de Societate luk' Et de vno Syndone empto
[3] Et de lxvj. vlnis Card'. emptis[4]

Liberacio[7] Sindonum et Card'

ℙPro directo Bordure cuiusdam Culcitre facte de duobus pannis de Cangio[5] Radiato [6].ij. Sindones virides.[6]
ℙPro indirecto eiusdem Culcitre xxxvj. vlne Card'.
ℙPro directo cuiusdam Materacii de Sindone viridi [6].iij. pecie syndonis viridis.[6]
ℙPro indirecto eiusdem Materacii .xxx. vlne Card'.
ℙPro directo et indirecto cuiusdam Culcitre de Symdone [*sic*] facte ad opus dom. [6].vij. Sindones rubee [6]
ℙPro robis dom. ligandis et Auricularibus cooperiendis per vnum annum in[te]grum preteritum. [6] dimidia Sindon rubea.[6]

Summa xij. pecie et dimidia sindonum Et lxvj. vlne Card' Et sic tenetur[8] in dimidia Sindone

liberacio Sellarum

Dom. Roberto de Littlebyr'. j. sella[9] Cum pauone.
Dom. Roberto de Retford'. j. sella cum pauone.

ij. selle cum pauonibus de preempto

[1] de *omitted throughout in A.* [2] Ertant *A.* [3] *A has the symbol* ℙ *prefixed to both these items.*
[4] *A adds* pro ut patet infra rotulum. [5] Cangy *A.*
[6–6] *The passages so marked are arranged in column in A, but not in B.*
[7] *The word* lib' *appears to have been inserted as an afterthought in A.*
[8] *A is mutilated here and the words following have disappeared.*
[9] cella *throughout this section in A except in the marginal entry, where* sellarum.

II.—*A Set of Elizabethan Heraldic Roundels in the British Museum.* *By* Ralph Griffin, *Esq., F.S.A., and* Mill Stephenson, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 13th February 1919.

In the year 1880 Mr. R. W. Binns of Worcester exhibited a painted panel of arms belonging to the Hadley Bowling Club. Mr., afterwards Sir Wollaston, Franks made some remarks on the arms which will be found in *Proceedings*, viii, 259. At the end of his remarks Mr. Franks called attention to a set of roundels or counters in the British Museum bearing the arms of peers of the reign of Elizabeth of about the date 1587, which corresponded nearly exactly with those on the Hadley panel, which it has been suggested was painted to commemorate the queen's visit to Worcester in 1575. Mr. Franks remarked of these roundels that he did not know of any similar set, and up to the present time none such has been noted, so that for the time being they may be spoken of as unique. No representations of the panel nor of the roundels were published in the *Proceedings*. By permission of the Keeper of the Medieval Department photographs of the counters have been taken and are now exhibited.

The original number of these roundels, probably used as counters for a game, seems to have been sixty-four, and they exhibited the arms and crests of all the sixty-four peers alive in 1587, but four are now missing so only sixty remain. They are all numbered, hence it is known that the numbers missing are 8 for the Earl of Worcester, 34 for the Baron Scrope of Bolton, 45 for the Baron Burgh, and 48 for the Baron Eure. The names of the peers to whom they were assigned can be exactly determined by the precedence of the peers at that date, who consisted of one marquess, twenty earls, two viscounts, and forty-one barons, not counting eldest sons of peers called to the upper house in their fathers' lifetime for their fathers' baronies. Such barons are not represented on the roundels.

The exact precedence in 1587 may be deduced from what are known as Establishment Rolls which often included a list of peers. Such a roll is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 33,276) which can be dated about 1578 to 1580. In this roll Lord Norris is junior baron as in the roundels, but the number of

peers is seventy-two, which can be reduced to sixty-four by omitting five eldest sons called to baronies and three barons who disappeared before 1588, the last being Baron Cheyney, who, dying in 1587 and leaving no successor, is not represented on the roundels. On the other hand no. 53 is for Lord Paget who was attainted in 1587, which establishes the date of the roundels.

Each roundel is formed of a thin piece of hard substance, probably of wood, on each side of which have been pasted circular pieces of paper which have been engraved and then coloured by hand; above the paper on each side of the roundel is a thin sheet of talc which is kept in position by a narrow rim of silver applied to the edge and turned over so as to act as a guard on each face. On a few of the roundels the talc facing is a little broken. The exact size of each is 28 millimetres in diameter. On one side, the obverse, are the arms of a peer with the number corresponding with his precedency above, and his name below. On the other side, the reverse, is his crest with the same number beneath. The centre of the obverse is white with a blue border-line just inside the silver rim. The reverse has a green background and on it a pale pink ring, the space within which is coloured white and on this white centre the crest is engraved and painted.

The arms on the obverse call for little comment. They are in no case quartered and are the arms usually ascribed to the peers whose names they bear. In no. 9, the arms of Manners, Earl of Rutland, the fleurs-de-lys in the augmentation derived from the royal arms are simply two golden spots, the artist being unable to work them up owing to their minuteness, and the lion is only passant and not passant guardant as the lion or leopard of England. No. 17 shows the arms of Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, 1569–1600. It will be noticed that the bordure of illegitimacy, gobony or and gu., each pane of the latter charged with a bezant, is still there, although it does not appear on his garter plate in 1574. The bordure finally disappears with the third Earl of this creation and is no more seen. The only other roundel to which attention need be called is no. 40 under which appears the inscription Darcye D. Darcye B. The D stands for 'dominus' as in the other roundels. The arms are correctly given for Lord Darcy of Meynell, but what word the letter B at the end is intended to convey is not clear. On no. 54 is Darcye D. Darcye de C., clearly intended for Chiche, and in no. 33 Greye de W. is for Grey of Wilton, but no corresponding solution offers for Darcye B, unless we may assume a clerical error, B for M.

The reverse of the roundels is more interesting because less attention has been given to crests and badges than to coats of arms. The field, therefore, of investigation is wider. Harleian MS. 216 has been of some use. The material part of it is thus described in the catalogue, 'The blazon of the arms of the English nobility, temp. R. Eliz., with their quarterings, crests, and supporters'.

The volume of the Howard de Walden Library, 1904, called *Banners, Standards and Badges*, which reproduces Mr. Willement's tracings of and notes on a manuscript in the College of Arms, is very useful, as is also Thomas Wall's book of crests published in the *Ancestor*, xi, 178, and xii, 63. In the valuable collection of books and manuscripts relating to heraldry bequeathed to the Society by Sir Wollaston Franks is a volume labelled 'English Arms' which shows many of the crests on the roundels.

The crests are certainly not so well drawn as the arms; this may be accounted for by the fact that the crests show such a variety of objects much more difficult to draw than known heraldic charges. Many of them are on caps or chapeaux which should properly be described as gules, turned up ermine, but they are always drawn gules turned up argent, which suggests that the ermine spots have been omitted by mistake. Thirty-eight of the crests are on wreaths, viz. one marquess, eight earls, one viscount, and twenty-eight barons; eleven are on caps, viz. seven earls, one viscount, and three barons; four earls and six barons have coronets. One remains, viz. the mitre of Berkeley which, as usual, stands alone with nothing below it. Roundel no. 2 shows the white horse of Fitzalan holding in its mouth an oak-branch, but without the oak-tree behind as on the enamelled badge on the tomb of John Fitzalan, 1421, at Arundel, and on the standard of the Earl of Arundel figured in *Banners*, etc. No. 11 shows a crest derived by Ratcliffe from Fitzwalter. There is here a pair of wings erect gules, the tips joined by a chain from which by a shorter chain is dependant a fetterlock, all gold. Above is a mullet of six points also gold. This is called a star in the Harl. MS., but by Wall (no. 100) and in Mr. Willement's book, a sun. It may be noted that the sun and fetterlock were both badges of the house of York. No. 17, Herbert, shows a wyvern which has this peculiarity, that a suggestion is conveyed that it has become a somewhat domesticated fowl, for it is collared and chained, the chain enwrapping its body. In the process it seems to have been fierce enough to secure a human hand which it holds in its mouth. No. 21, the crest of Clinton, shows what would be usually called a plume of feathers out of a coronet. It is shown with a curious band which plumes of feathers do not usually have, and this suggests that Wall (no. 186) may be more accurate in describing the crest as 'a busche of flegges or water-rede leaves'. Bush is a word that he prefers to plume or panache, as he talks elsewhere of a bush of swan's feathers. No. 27, the crest of Bertie, on the obverse written Bartne, shows a lion's face, not very heraldic in conception, enclosed by wings which are lozengy. In the Franks MS. they are fretty az. No. 28 is the interesting mitre crest of Berkeley charged with the arms of that family. The infulae of the mitre are per fess gules and azure while the mitre is gules, lined argent and edged with gold. No. 30, the crest of Fiennes, Lord Dacre, has the

head of a bird, shown here as an eagle holding in its beak a ring with a large gem stone in it. It is here with the ring coloured gold, but Harl. MS. says it is a diamond, while Wall (no. 156) describes the crest as 'a griffons hede with a ring in her mouth with a saphir in hit'. No. 31 calls for a good deal of notice. It is ascribed to Brooke, Lord Cobham, whose usual crest is well known as a Saracen's head and is so given in all our authorities. Here it is not that but a nondescript object probably intended for a wing charged with the arms of Brooke. This crest has been retained in use by Brooke of Ufford, and appears on the monument to Sir Robert Brooke and his wife Elizabeth Culpeper, 1683, in Yoxford church. No. 36, the crest of Stourton, derived from Moigne, shows a demi-monk in his black gown holding a scourge in his right hand. Here as in the Franks MS. this is a demi-figure, but Wall (no. 143) gives it as full length, probably in error. No. 38, the crest of Blount, shows the black wolf of Ayala standing between two goat or ibex horns, which are represented with serrated edges. That they are ibex horns is clear from the 78th of Sir William Hope's *Garter Plates*, which shows that of Sir Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy, 1472, where the horns are alone and there is no black wolf. Wall (no. 341) calls them horns like saws in a crown gold. No. 40, the crest of Darcy of Meynell, appears to represent a spear broken in three pieces, the top piece standing upright. The others which are shown with curious serrated edges are crossed in saltire behind it. They are encircled by an elaborate cord knotted and tasselled all gold. The only authority who gives this badge or crest is Mr. Willement. No. 41 is the crest of Sandys of the Vyne. It is the head of a winged goat argent, the wings, horns, and beard being gold. The supporters of the arms as given in the Franks MS. are also winged goats, so the head is not merely between two wings as Wall (no. 126) seems to suggest. In no. 42 the crest of Vaux is drawn more like a raven's head with a golden beak. There is no doubt from the Franks MS. that it ought to be a griffin's head sable, beaked gold. The dexter supporter, a griffin with beak and forelegs of gold, confirms this. No. 46 shows the crest of Mordaunt, a maiden's head with very abundant hair and a wreath round her head. Harl. MS. agreeing with Willement's standard makes the crest allusive and a 'man more' from the midbreast couped, whole faced, about his head a wreath silver and sable, in his ear a ring gold, and 'apareled' gold. Possibly the maiden is a 'female more' adopted as more attractive but still allusive. No. 47 for Cromwell is a curious example of a pelican vulning itself striped or and az. The stripes look rather as if they were intended to be bendwise. The Harl. MS. describes the bird as 'volant or, gutted az.', and some other authorities agree with this. No. 53 gives as the crest of Paget a nondescript demi-animal spoken of as an heraldic tiger. The head looks like that of a boar and the only difference seems to be various tufts

of hair disposed irregularly on the head, body, and tail. The Franks MS. shows as supporters animals of the same kind, but being complete they have more tufts. The Harl. MS. describes the crest as a demi-tiger sa., crowned about his neck, tusked, maned and flocked silver, langued gu. On the roundel no crown appears. No. 54, for Darcy of Chiche, gives a nice example of a demi-maiden, full faced, holding a green branch with red flowers. Harl. MS. describes this as a maiden to the knees gowned gules, hair hanging gold, face and hands proper, holding in her right hand a slip of 'caterfoyl persel' gold, stalked vert, one flower gules, another azure, and a third gules. Probably the flowers correspond with the pierced cinquefoils gules in the coat of Darcy. No. 62 is notable as the crest of the great Lord Burghley, being a garb or supported by two lions rampant, the dexter blue with a red tongue, the sinister silver with a blue tongue and eye.

In conclusion we have to express our thanks to our Fellow Sir Hercules Read, the Keeper of the Department, for permission to have the roundels photographed, and also in conjunction with our Fellow Mr. Reginald Smith for kindly allowing us the use of the Department's rooms whilst working on them.

BLAZON OF THE ROUNDELS

1. Arms. Sa. 3 swords in pile, points to base, arg., in sinister chief a crescent or for difference. Pawlet. M. Wintoniae.
   Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a falcon rising, collared with a coronet, or.
   William Pawlet, Marquess of Winchester, 1576–98.
2. Arms. Gu. a lion rampant or, armed, langued, and membered az. Fitzallen. C. Arundelie.
   Crest. On a wreath or and gu. a mound vert, thereon a horse courant arg., holding in its mouth an oak-branch vert.
   Philip Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, 1580–9.
3. Arms. Quarterly gu. and or, in the first quarter a mullet arg. Veare. C. Oxoniae.
   Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a boar statant az., armed, bristled, hoofed, and membered or.
   Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, 1562–1604.
4. Arms. Or a lion rampant az., armed, langued, and membered gu. Percye. C. Northūbriae.
   Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a lion passant az., langued gu.
   Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, 1585–1632.
5. Arms. Gu. a lion rampant or, armed, langued, and membered az., within a bordure engrailed or. Talbot. C. Salopiae.
   Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a lion passant or, langued gu.
   George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, 1560–90.
6. Arms. Barry of six arg. and az., in chief 3 torteaux. Gray. C. Kanciae.
   Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a wyvern or, langued gu.
   Henry Grey, Earl of Kent and Lord Grey of Ruthyn, 1573, 1615.
7. Arms. Arg. on a bend az. 3 stag's heads cabossed or. Stanley. C. Derbeiae.
   Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., an eagle or preying on a child swaddled gu., banded or, in a nest of the last.
   Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, 1572–93.
8. Missing. The Earl of Worcester.
   William Somerset, Earl of Worcester, 1549–89.
9. Arms. Or 2 bars az., a chief quarterly 1 and 4 az. 2 fleurs-de-lys or, 2 and 3 gu. a lion passant [guardant] or. Mannors. C. Rotelādiae.
   Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a peacock in its pride az., legs arg.
   Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland, 1563–87.

10. Arms. Chequy or and az. a fess gu. Clifforde. C. Cūberlādiae.
Crest. A wyvern gu., langued az., sitting in a coronet or.
George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, 1570–1605.

11. Arms. Arg. a bend engrailed sa. Ratcliffe. C. Suthsexiae.
Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a pair of wings gu. joined by a chain from which is pendant by a shorter chain a fetterlock, above, a mullet of six points, all or.
Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, 1583–93.

12. Arms. Arg. a maunch sa. Hastings. C. Hutingdōiae.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a bull's head erased sa., eye and tongue gu., horned and collared with a coronet or.
Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, 1561–95.

13. Arms. Arg. a cross engrailed gu. between 4 bougets sa., a label (3) az. Bowrchier. C. Bathoniae.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a Saracen's head in profile ppr. with a coronet or round a cap gu.
William Bourchier, Earl of Bath, 1561–1623.

14. Arms. Or a lion rampant, tail forked, vert, armed, langued, and membered gu., in dexter chief a crescent gu. for difference. Sutton. C. Warwici.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a bear and ragged staff arg., muzzled, collared, and chained or, and charged on the shoulder with a crescent sa.
Ambrose Sutton, alias Dudley, created Earl of Warwick in 1561, died 1589.

15. Arms. Az. a cross or between 4 falcons close arg. Wriothsley. C. Suthāptoniae.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and az. a bull statant sa., crowned, ringed, and chained or.
Henry Wriothsley, Earl of Southampton, 1581–1624.

16. Arms. Arg. a lion rampant gu., armed, langued, and membered az., on a chief sa. 3 escallops arg. Russell. C. Bedfordiae.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a goat statant arg., horns, beard, and hoofs or.
Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford, 1585–1627.

17. Arms. Per pale az. and gu. 3 lions rampant arg., a bordure gobonny or and gu. on each pane of the last a bezant. Herbert. C. Penbrochi.
Crest. On a wreath gu., az., and arg. a wyvern vert, langued gu., collared and chained or, holding in its mouth a hand arg.
Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, 1570–1600.

18. Arms. Gu. 2 wings conjoined or. Seymer. C. Herfordiae.
Crest. Out of a coronet a phoenix rising from flames or.
Edward Seymour, created Earl of Hertford in 1559, died 1621.

19. Arms. As 14. Sutton. C. Leicestriae.
Crest. As 14.
Lord Robert Dudley, created Earl of Leicester in 1564, died 1588.

20. Arms. Arg. a fess gu., in chief 3 torteaux. Deuereux. C. Estsexiae.
Crest. Out of a coronet or a talbot's head arg., ear and tongue gu.
Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, 1576–1601.

21. Arms. Arg. 6 crosslets fitchy sa., on a chief az. 2 mullets or. Clinton. C. Lincolniae.
Crest. Out of a coronet gu. a plume of feathers arg., banded az.
Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, 1585–1616.

22. Arms. Sa. 3 lions passant in bend, doubly cotised, arg., in sinister chief a crescent arg. for difference. Browne. V. C. Mōtisacuti.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a stag statant ppr., horned, collared with a coronet, and chained or.
Sir Anthony Browne, created Viscount Montagu in 1554, died 1592.

23. Arms. Gu. a bend between 6 crosslets fitchy arg., the bend charged with the augmentation for Flodden, and in fess point with a crescent sa. for difference. Howard. V. C. Bindon.
Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a lion passant or, langued gu., charged on the neck with a label (3) arg.
Henry Howard, Viscount Bindon (or more correctly Viscount Howard of Bindon), 1582–1590.

24. Arms. Gu. on a saltire arg. a rose gu., seeded or. Neuell. D. Abergauny.
Crest. On a wreath az. and gu. a bull statant arg., spotted sa., horned, collared, and chained or.
Henry Neville, Baron Abergavenny, 1535–87.

25. Arms. Ermine a chevron gu. Tuchett. D. Audley.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a saracen's head in profile ppr., wreathed arg. and az.
George Touchet, Baron Audley, 1563–1617.

26. Arms. Gu. 12 bezants, a canton ermine. Zouche. D. Zouche.
Crest. On a wreath or and gu. a falcon with wings expanded standing on a tree trunk arg., sprouting vert.
Edward Zouche, Baron Zouche of Haringworth, 1569–1625.

27. Arms. Arg. 3 battering rams az., banded or. Bartne. D. Willough: de E.
Crest. On a wreath or and az. a lion's face or between 2 wings lozengy or and az.
Peregrine Bertie, Baron Willoughby d'Eresby, admitted to the peerage 11th November 1580, and took his seat 16th January 1580–1 next below Lord Zouche. Died 25th June 1601.

28. Arms. Gu. a chevron between 10 crosses patty, 6 and 4, arg. Barkley. D. Barkley.

Crest. A mitre gu., edged or, lined arg., charged on the front with the Berkeley arms, the infulae per fess gu. and az.

Henry Berkeley, Baron Berkeley, 1534-1613.

29. Arms. Arg. a lion passant gu. between 2 bars sa., the upper charged with 2 bezants and the lower with one, in chief 3 stag's heads cabossed sa. Parker. D. Morley.

Crest. Out of a coronet a bear's head couped sa., muzzled or.

Edward Parker, Baron Morley, 1577–1618.

30. Arms. Az. 3 lions rampant or. Fines. D. Dacre.

Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. an eagle's head holding in its beak a gem ring or.

Gregory Fiennes, Baron Dacre, 1558-94.

31. Arms. Gu. on a chevron arg. a lion rampant sa. Brooke. D. Cobbam.

Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg. a wing gu. charged with the Brooke arms.

William Brooke, Baron Cobham, 1558-97.

32. Arms. Or a chevron gu. Stafforde. D. Stafforde.

Crest. Out of a coronet per pale gu. and sa. a swan rising arg.

Edward Stafford, Baron Stafford, 1566–1603.

33. Arms. Barry of six arg. and az., a label (5) gu. Greye. D. Greye de W.

Crest. On a wreath arg. and az. a gloved hand arg., thereon a falcon with wings expanded or.

Arthur Grey, Baron Grey of Wilton, 1562–93.

34. Missing. Baron Scrope of Bolton.

Henry Scrope, Baron Scrope of Bolton, 1549-91.

35. Arms. Or a lion rampant, tail forked, vert, armed, langued, and membered gu. Dudley. D. Dudley.

Crest. Out of a coronet or a lion's head az., tongue gu., eye or.

Edward Sutton, alias Dudley, 9th Baron, 1586–1643.

36. Arms. Sa. a bend or between 6 fountains. Sturton. D. Sturton.

Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a demi-monk vested sa., holding a scourge in his right hand.

John Stourton, Baron Stourton, 1557–88.

37. Arms. Arg. a fess gu. between 3 popinjays vert, collared, beaked, and legged gu. Lumley. D. Lumley.

Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a nest vert therein a pelican arg. feeding its young from its breast.

John Lumley, first and only baron of this creation, 1547–1609.

38. Arms. Barry nebuly of six or and sa. Blunte. D. Montioy.

Crest. On a coronet or a wolf statant sa. between 2 ibex horns or.

William Blount, Baron Mountjoy, 1581–94.

39. Arms. Arg. a fess between 3 crescents gu. Ogle. D. Ogle.
Crest. Out of a coronet gu. a bull's head or.
Cuthbert Ogle, Baron Ogle, 1562–97.

40. Arms. Az. crusily 3 cinquefoils arg. Darcye. D. Darcye. B.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and az. a spear or, headed arg., broken into three pieces whereof the headed piece is erect and the two other pieces in saltire behind it, all encircled by a knotted and tasselled cord gold.
John Darcy, Baron Darcy of Meynell, 1558–1602.

41. Arms. Arg. a cross raguly sa. Sandes. D. Sandes.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a goat's head arg., winged, horned and bearded or.
William Sandys, Baron Sandys of the Vyne, 1560–1623.

42. Arms. Chequy arg. and gu. on a chevron az. 3 roses or, seeded gu. Vaulx. D. Vaulx.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a bird's head erased sa., eye and beak or.
William Vaux, Baron Vaux of Harrowden, 1556–95.

43. Arms. Gu. a saltire arg. between 13 crosslets, 3, 3, 4 and 3, or. Windsore. D. Windsore.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a stag's head couped arg., attired or.
Henry Windsor, Baron Windsor, 1585–1605.

44. Arms. Sa. a chevron between 3 leopard's faces or, the chevron charged with a crescent sa. for difference. Wentworth. D. Wentworth.
Crest. On a wreath or and sa. a griffin passant arg., collared or.
Henry Wentworth, Baron Wentworth, 1584–93.

45. Missing. Baron Burgh.
Thomas Burgh, Baron Burgh, 1584–97.

46. Arms. Arg. a chevron between 3 estoiles sa. Mordant. D. Mordant.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a demi-maiden with flowing hair, all ppr., wreathed gu. and or.
Lewis Mordaunt, Baron Mordaunt, 1571–1601.

47. Arms. Quarterly per fess indented az. and or 4 lions passant counter-changed. Cromwell. D. Cromwell.
Crest. On a cap gu. turned up arg. a pelican vulning itself, striped or and az.
Henry Cromwell, Baron Cromwell, 1551–92.

48. Missing. Baron Eure.
William Eure, Baron Eure, 1548–94.

49. Arms. Sa. a maunch arg., a bordure or charged with 8 lion's gambs in saltire gu. Wharton. D. Wharton.

Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a bull's head erased arg., langued gu., horned or, collared with a coronet per pale az. and gu.

Philip Wharton, Baron Wharton, 1572–1625.

50. Arms. Gu. a chevron between 3 crosslets or. Riche. D. Riche.
Crest. On a wreath or and gu. a wyvern arg., langued gu., standing on a mound vert.

Robert Rich, Baron Rich, 1580–1618, when he was created Earl of Warwick.

51. Arms. Or fretty az. Willoughbi. D. Willo. de P.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and az. a human head front-faced couped ppr., wearing a coronet or.

Charles Willoughby, Baron Willoughby of Parham, 1574–1603.

52. Arms. Arg. a chevron between 3 garbs gu. Sheffield. D. Sheffield.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a boar's head erased or, langued gu.

Edmund Sheffield, Baron Sheffield, 1568, created Earl of Mulgrave in 1625; died 1646.

53. Arms. Sa. on a cross engrailed between 4 eagles displayed arg. 5 lions passant sa. Pagett. D. Pagett.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a demi-tiger salient sa., langued gu., tusk and eye or, mane, tufts, and tail arg.

Thomas Paget, Baron Paget of Beaudesert, summoned by writ in 1571, attainted in 1587.

54. Arms. Arg. 3 pierced cinquefoils gu. Darcye. D. Darcye de C.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a demi-maiden ppr., hair and vest or, holding in her right hand a branch vert, flowered gu.

Thomas Darcy, Baron Darcy of Chiche, 1581–1640.

55. Arms. Gu. a bend between 6 crosslets fitchy arg., the bend charged with the augmentation for Flodden, and in fess point with a mullet sa. for difference. Howard. D. de Effingha:
Crest. On a cap gu., turned up arg., a lion passant or, langued gu., charged on the neck with a label (3) arg.

Charles Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, succeeded in 1572–3; created Earl of Nottingham in 1596, died 14th December 1624.

56. Arms. Az. a lion passant or, langued gu., between 3 fleurs-de-lys arg. Northe. D. Northe.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a dragon's head erased sa., langued gu., collared with a coronet or.

Roger North, Baron North of Kirtling, 1564–1600.

57. Arms. Arg. on a cross sa. a leopard's face or. Bridges. D. Chaundos.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a saracen's head in profile ppr., banded arg. and az., and charged on the neck with a label (3) gu., bezanty.

Giles Bridges, Baron Chandos of Sudeley, 1573–94.

58. Arms. Arg. on a bend sa. 3 roses arg., seeded or, in sinister chief a crescent arg. on a crescent sa. for difference. Carie. D. Honsdon.

Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a swan with wings expanded arg., beak gu.

Henry Carey, created Baron Hunsdon in 1559; died 1596.

59. Arms. Arg. on a chief gu. 2 mullets or. Sct: John. D. Sainct John.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a falcon or rising from a mound vert, belled and collared with a coronet gu.

John St. John, Baron St. John of Bletso, 1582–96.

60. Arms. Quarterly or and gu. a bend vair. Sackuile. D. Buckhurst.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a ram's head erased sa., horns and eye or.

Sir Thomas Sackvile, created Baron Buckhurst in 1567, Earl of Dorset in 1603.

61. Arms. Arg. a fess dancetty sa. West. D. de la Warre.
Crest. Out of a coronet or a griffin's head az., beak or.

William West, created Baron de la Warre in 1570; died 1595.

62. Arms. Barry of ten arg. and az. six escutcheons, 3, 2, 1, sa. each charged with a lion rampant arg. Cecill. D. Burghley.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and az. a garb or supported by 2 lions rampant, the dexter az., eye and tongue gu., the sinister arg., eye and tongue az.

William Cecil, created Baron Burghley in 1571; died 1598.

63. Arms. Sa. a lion passant guardant or between 3 helmets arg. Compton. D. Compton.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and sa. a demi-dragon erased gu., tongue and eye az., girdled by a coronet or.

Henry Compton, created Baron Compton in 1572; died 1589.

64. Arms. Quarterly arg. and gu., in the second and third quarters a fret or, a fess az. Norreys. D. Norreys.
Crest. On a wreath arg. and gu. a falcon rising sa., tongue gu., eye or.

Sir Henry Norris, created Baron Norris of Rycote in 1572; died 1601.

ARMS ON ROUNDELS, Nos. 1-31

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CRESTS ON ROUNDELS, Nos. 1–31

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ARMS ON ROUNDELS, Nos. 32-64

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CRESTS ON ROUNDELS, Nos. 32-64

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III.—*Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt.* *By* C. L. Kingsford, *Esq.*, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 15th May 1919.

The two forfeitures here described have no more certain connexion than that they both took place in the same year, and that the chief documents for both now lie together in the same file. The first has to do with the property of Henry le Scrope, who was the prime mover in the plot against Henry V and was executed at Southampton on 5th August 1415. The second has to do with Richard Gurmyn, a Lollard who was burnt at Smithfield for heresy on 9th September in the same year. It is possible that the Lollard leader, Sir John Oldcastle, was privy to Scrope's plot, and it is not impossible that Gurmyn's execution was in part political; but even if Gurmyn was in any way concerned in Scrope's plot, the connexion between the forfeitures is purely accidental.

Of the early career of Henry le Scrope of Masham it is not necessary to write at length. His long friendliness with the royal house and the confidence which was reposed in him by Henry V make his eventual treason remarkable. He alleged that he had joined the plot only to reveal it; a somewhat idle tale since he had taken no steps to that end. Popular rumour, adopted by Walsingham, represented Scrope as having been bought by French gold; if this was true, he must have acted out of sheer avarice, for his wealth should have put him beyond the reach of any ordinary temptation. Walsingham adds that Scrope made such pretence of gravity in demeanour, of modesty in bearing, and of piety in speech that the king took everything he said as an oracle from heaven.[1] His obvious religious inclinations, as shown in his will and in the contents of the inventory of his goods, receive a certain illustration from the character thus given to him.

Scrope was arrested at Southampton on 31st July 1415 and executed five days later. His property was regarded as forfeit from the date of his arrest.[2] Immediately after his execution many of his manors were granted away; some to his brother-in-law Henry Fitz Hugh, who was of undoubted loyalty, and others to servants of the king.[3] His wealth was so notorious that immediate

[1] *Historia Anglicana*, i, 305.

[2] Cf. *Escheator's File*, 1116 'qui erga dominum Regem proditorie forisfecit die Mercurii, ultimo die Iulii.'

[3] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry V, i, 359-61.

steps seem to have been taken to secure its safe custody. By a writ, probably dated on 6th August, John Waterton was ordered to take possession of all Scrope's goods and chattels and to keep them in safe custody at Pontefract.[1] This was done without waiting for the formal inquisitions by the escheators, with the consideration of which it will, however, be convenient to begin our own inquiry.

By far the most important of these inquisitions is the one which was held at London on 4th October before Thomas Fauconer, the mayor.[2] Henry le Scrope's grandfather and namesake had purchased about the year 1380 a hostel in London, and pending delivery asked to be allowed to occupy a neighbouring hostel which belonged to Edmund de Stonor.[3] The hostel which was thus acquired was no doubt Scrope's Inn in Thames Street, immediately west of Paul's Wharf. When Stephen le Scrope died in 1406 the clear annual value of his inn was returned as three marks, now in 1415 it was given as four marks. Of the inn itself the inquisition affords us no information beyond a casual reference to the hall. But the description of its contents is full of interest. First, however, it was found that there were in the custody of various London citizens sums of money amounting to no less than 940*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* But out of this sum the escheator had already paid into the Exchequer on 3rd September 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, being the 100 marks held by William Ratsey, with 100*l.* out of the money in the hands of Richard Throkinold.[4] In one case there is a sum included for increment, and probably all this money was loaned to merchants for purposes of trade. Of the other goods in Scrope's London inn the most valuable were the vessels of gold and silver.[5] The description of a gold salt-cellar as 'called a hanap in the Indenture' is of interest as indicating that use had been made of some other inventory. The list ends with an iron-bound 'pruce-chest' in which the same goods were kept. In the inquisition the weight of the gold and silver plate is given, with the price per pound or per ounce. When Fauconer rendered his account in the Exchequer he gave the value in money as amounting to a total of 438*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* Even for a noble of Scrope's position this was a very substantial sum. But the plate in the London inn formed, as we shall see, but a comparatively small part either in quantity or quality of his total wealth.

The other goods dealt with in the London inquisition are of no great importance. The chief articles of dress were four long 'uplands' or houplands, which were tunics with long skirts. The principal bed was of red and black

[1] See p. 75 below.
[2] See p. 87 below.
[3] *Stonor Letters and Papers*, i, 24 (Camden, 3rd Series).
[4] *Exchequer of Receipt*, Receipt Roll 667, 3 September.
[5] See the list on p. 88 below.

tartarin, a combination of colours which Scrope seems to have fancied. The linen is described for the most part as 'much used'. Of chapel furniture there was only a cloth with reredos and two stained curtains, and a frontal. Of arms and armour there was a small quantity, but the best was probably with Scrope at Southampton. The most interesting item is a 'bedow', a weapon of which the meaning and derivation are stated in the Oxford Dictionary to be obscure; the word is there illustrated by a quotation from *Piers Plowman*, 'a bidowe or a baselard he berith in his hand'; in the London Coroners' Rolls there are three references to a knife called a 'bideu' or a 'bidau', the dates being 1323, 1324, and 1339.[1] From his will, Scrope appears to have had much armour and harness for jousting, but the only things of the kind which appear here are two old jousting saddles.[2]

As usual in such inventories there is a considerable quantity of kitchen utensils. The furniture properly so-called is trivial and uninteresting. A few stools, trestles, old tables, tubs, and forms seem but a meagre equipment for the London inn of a wealthy noble. The whole were valued at no more than 13*s.*, of which a chest in the hall accounted for 5*s.* It is possible that Fitz Hugh, who had already received a grant of the inn, had found an opportunity to remove some of the more valuable fittings.

Of more interest is a barge worth 30*s.* with its anchor, with 'les beilis'[3] valued at 6*s.* There was also a 'telde' or tent (described in the account as of 'wadmole') for the barge, worth 8*s.*, and a carpet for the barge worth 1*s.* 8*d.* Scrope's inn was on the bank of the Thames, and the barge no doubt lay there. Ten years later in an inventory of goods at the inn of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, which was in St. Katherine Colman parish, a barge with twelve oars and an anchor appears and is valued at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; as the earl's inn was at a distance from the river it is natural to learn that the barge was in the keeping of Philip Bargeman.[4] In 1373 John of Gaunt purchased a new barge for his use at the Savoy from William Brid of Mortlake for 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*[5] Henry V had a great coverlet of 'racamas'[6] of cloth of gold, with cushions of baudekin and a tapet, for his barge on the Thames:[7] in the inventory of his goods after his death there appears a covering for a barge made of red cloth embroidered with the king's and queen's mottoes.[8]

The value of the miscellaneous goods at Scrope's inn was no more than

[1] Sharpe, *Calendar of Coroners' Rolls*, pp. 71, 106, 213.
[2] See p. 89 below.
[3] Apparently the French 'bêlée', a rope or cable.
[4] L. T. R., *Foreign Accounts*, 4 Henry VI, Roll 6, P. R. O.
[5] *John of Gaunt's Register*, 1242.
[6] Or 'ragmas'; some kind of cloth.
[7] *Wardrobe Accounts*: Enrolments: Exchequer (L. T. R.) Roll 6, m. 10.
[8] *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 234.

41*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*, making with the plate a total of 480*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* If to this we add the money that was out on loan we get 1,420*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* But though the total is substantial in amount even for a noble of five centuries ago, it is somewhat disappointing in quality. The other inquisitions are even less fruitful.

In all probability Scrope had the best of his armour, and other articles of personal use—such as the clasp, with a wallet and Cross of our Lord, which he describes in his will as always hanging on his shirt[1]—with him at Southampton. We know that an inquisition was held there and the value of the property was not inconsiderable, for Stephen Frensh had a grant of 25*l.*, and John Turges and Richard Hunt a joint grant of the same amount out of goods late of Henry le Scrope taken into the king's hands on account of his treason by the escheator in the county of Southampton.[2] But this inquisition has not been preserved and we have consequently no knowledge of what it related to.[3]

When we turn to the inquisitions held in other places, of which the records have been preserved, we find that at Nedging and Kettlebaston in Suffolk Scrope had only farm-stock, of a total value of 30*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*[4] In Lincolnshire different officers at Barnobbe, Carleton, and Shepyng had in their hands 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, whilst at Carleton, Walter Man had one worn brass pot, weighing 21 lb. and worth 2*s.* 7½*d.*[5] At Newcastle it was found that Scrope had three messuages of the annual value of only 4*s.* and no more, because they were crazy and ruinous.[6]

We now come to Yorkshire, in which county Scrope's principal estates lay. Here we get four documents;[7] the first of which deals only with his lands and the fourth simply records that various persons at Upsall, Overton, Thornburgh, Kilmington, and Sedbergh had 18 marks in their hands as arrears from farmers for last Easter Term. The other two are more interesting, but are unfortunately in a very bad condition and only in part decipherable; the Escheator's Account has been preserved, but that also is damaged and so does not fully make good the defects in the inquisitions. Both documents relate to Faxflete where the inquisition was held on 17th September 1415. The former of the two deals chiefly with cloth goods, the most interesting items being two hallings (very worn), and three old happyngs (or coarse coverlets) of worsted. There are some other miscellaneous goods, including vessels for brewing and a pipe of wine. It is but a paltry list of goods worth no more than 10*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, and poor though the list is, Geoffrey le Scrope had already got possession of the goods and refused to give them up. For these goods Geoffrey le Scrope finally accounted in the

[1] *Foedera*, ix, 279.
[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry V, i, 384, 386.
[3] Unfortunately the Escheator's Account for 3 Henry V is also missing.
[4] *Escheator's File*, 1200.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1116.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1386.
[7] *Ibid.*, 722, nos. 1 to 4.

Exchequer five years later.[1] The other document furnishes us with interesting articles in the shape of two pairs of organs and a little clock; otherwise, apart from hay and corn in the grange, there were only a pipe of red wine, forty-seven pounds of unworked wax, nine stone of lead, some kitchen utensils, a quantity of pewter, and five little pigs called 'scaldynges'.[2] The total value seems to have been under 30*l.* This certainly does not represent more than a small fraction of Scrope's movable goods in Yorkshire, for two years previously he had made a complaint that certain evil-doers had broken his close and house at Faxflete and carried off his wife Joan, and had forcibly entered his castle of Sandle and carried away goods to the value of 5,000*l.* there and at Faxflete.[3] The explanation for so meagre a return is contained in a statement made by the escheator when rendering his account,[4] that the king by Letters Patent dated 6th [August] had directed John Waterton, squire, to take all and singular the goods and chattels of Henry le Scrope wheresoever found, which through his treason belong to the king, and to keep them safely till otherwise required. As we shall presently see there was a great quantity of valuable goods already stored at Pontefract Castle.

Probably at the same time the family charters and muniments were deposited at St. Leonard's Hospital in York, whence in the following year they were brought to London, Edward Hastings, the sheriff, receiving 9*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* for the expense of conveying them to the Treasury at Westminster in a cart with a guard of twelve mounted men, and for the provision of chests, coffers, and boxes to contain them.[5] In London 2*s.* were paid to the men who carried three chests containing the muniments from the Exchequer of Receipt to the Treasury at Westminster Abbey.[6] Before this in November 1415 John Marshall, receiver of Henry, late lord le Scrope, was paid 40*s.* for his expenses in coming to London on two occasions for the delivery of the evidences of the manors and lordships.[7]

Considering the care that had already been taken to secure possession of Scrope's property it is somewhat curious to find the Council making inquiry on 31st October as to the extent and whereabouts of his goods. They summoned before them John Foxholes, his chaplain, and Thomas Blase,[8] the steward of

[1] *Exchequer*, Receipt Roll, 8 Henry V. Michaelmas. 30th January 1421.
[2] Pigs in bad condition.
[3] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry V, i, 65.
[4] *Escheator's Account*, Ebor. $\frac{5}{2}\frac{8}{}$.
[5] *Foreign Accounts*, 3 Henry V.
[6] Devon, *Issues of Exchequer*, p. 350.
[7] *Exchequer of Receipt*, Issue Roll 622, 11th November.
[8] Called *William* Blase in Scrope's will, of which Foxholes and Blase were two executors. An order for the arrest of John Foxholes, Thomas Blase, and others late 'commorantes cum domino H. le Scrop', was made on 15th October, *Issue Roll* 623.

his household. Foxholes and Blase declared on oath that they had none of their late master's goods and did not know into whose hands they had come. Foxholes added that he knew of a will, which had been written by John Bliton, the clerk of the kitchen, but he had no knowledge of its contents and did not know where it was. Blase stated that Scrope had six dozen silver vessels and no more. Robert Newton, who was formerly dean of the chapel to Scrope, gave evidence that he had no knowledge of the number of Scrope's copes, though he had heard tell that great and small they numbered one hundred and twenty; it was, however, four years since he left Scrope's service, and in the meantime Scrope had purchased many jewels and much furniture for his chapel.[1] Newton's estimate of the number of the copes was probably not far out; but Blase must have been guilty of deliberate deception, for there were more than six dozen silver vessels at London, and a still larger number elsewhere.

It was probably as a result of this inquiry by the Council that some one remembered that Scrope's goods were already in safe keeping at Pontefract. On 6th November Richard Knyghteley, one of the tellers of the Exchequer of Receipt, received payment of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* towards his expenses in bringing the goods and jewels late of Henry le Scrope from Pontefract to London.[2] It was not till ten years later that Knyghteley's account was formally entered in the Exchequer, the business of which office, perhaps as a consequence of the war, being at this time much in arrear. According to Knyghteley's own statement his appointment to this duty was not actually made till 22nd November, and it was apparently early in January 1416 before he had accomplished his errand. On 10th January he received payment of 20*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* to cover the balance of his expenses and the cost of carriage.[3] The vestments and church ornaments were delivered to Master John Colles, keeper of the vestry of the King's chapel, the vessels of gold and silver to Thomas Chitterne, keeper of the King's jewels, and the cloths of arras, the beds and other things pertaining to the wardrobe to John Baudekyn, keeper of the King's beds.

Knyghteley in rendering his account[4] first sets forth his commission, and then records the goods as received from Robert Waterton at Pontefract. The more valuable articles were packed in chests; but the goods of the wardrobe were apparently received unpacked, a detailed inventory of them all is therefore given. There then follow the inventories of the goods as delivered to Colles, Chitterne, and Baudekyn as testified by indentures executed between Knyghteley and them. As a consequence we get two separate lists of the goods of the wardrobe, the one at the beginning and the other at the end of the account.

[1] *Proc. and Ord. Privy Council*, ii, 182–4.
[2] *Exchequer of Receipt*, Issue Roll 622.
[3] *Ibid.*, 10th January.
[4] L. T. R., *Foreign Accounts*, 4 Henry VI, Roll 60.

In his statement of the goods as received by him Knyghteley begins with a square chest closed with stout boards, and sealed with twists and knots.[1] Next he enters a book called Genesis, written in French, and a case with a 'tablemeyne' or 'tablement' of ivory.[2] After this come a great red standard (or box) sealed and bound with iron and fastened with a double lock, and a black standard similarly secured. There then follow nine more chests, the method in which each is fastened being carefully described. These are called 'Chests de Pruys', i. e. made of Prussian or spruce fir; one of them was fastened with a 'hengelok', and the other two were bound with iron and sealed with the seal of John Waterton, esquire. There then comes the long list of costers, pieces of arras, and other goods of cloth and silk, in the midst of which appear two little skippets (or wicker baskets) sealed with the signet of the aforesaid John Waterton, and two silver-gilt 'flaskets' worked in the manner of scallops and enclosed in cases of red leather.[3] In addition to the chests and goods which he had thus delivered Knyghteley also accounts for 5*s.* which he had received for the sale of two old chests and a coster of white worsted having the arms of Scrope within a garter.

In rendering his account of the delivery of the goods Knyghteley begins with the ecclesiastical vestments and ornaments, and it will be convenient to follow the same order. The list is very long, including no less than ninety-two copes, besides a great number of albs, amices, frontals, and other ecclesiastical furniture, with a quantity of cloth of gold, baudekin, 'lukes', and 'ragmas'.[4] The number of copes falls short of Newton's estimate, but there were as we shall see others which had not yet been secured by the king's officers. Even as it stands the number is surprising, though a partial explanation is furnished by Scrope's will in which he made bequests of sixty-five copes to various churches. A century later John de Vere, earl of Oxford, had over fifty copes,[5] but Vere was a greater man than even Henry le Scrope. Knyghteley's description of the vestments, though sufficient for his purpose, is somewhat meagre, and it will be more interesting to give the fuller descriptions contained in Scrope's will,[6] which will moreover be useful for comparison. Scrope left to the high altar at York Minster a cope of cloth of gold, flowered with red and black roses and the orphreys nobly embroidered with images; a cope, chasuble, tunicle, dalmatic and all apparatus for a boy bishop; a canopy of black and red tartarin, painted with lions and swans, to be borne over the sacrament on Palm Sunday; a tunic and dalmatic of white cloth of gold for a bishop; a white satin vestment figured

[1] 'Torches et tortes.' [2] A frontal for an altar.

[3] The Latin is 'vtribus', but the vessels seem to be the 'flaskets' described on p. 96. In *Escheator's Accounts*, $\frac{108}{12}$ (see p. 87 below), 'utr.' appears as the equivalent for 'botels' in the inquisition.

[4] A kind of cloth. [5] *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 320 *sqq.* [6] *Foedera*, ix, 272-80.

with green velvet and red roses, with frontals, six copes of the same set, twelve copes of white 'baudekyn' and cloth of gold of 'lukes', and two copes of white damask, the orphreys of which were embroidered with images; a cope of white cloth 'de cipre', the orphreys embroidered with a Jesse; a vestment of red velvet, embroidered with roses of gold, with three 'tablements' and all apparatus and twelve copes to match; finally he bequeathed a fine frontal of pearls, which was to be lengthened at the expense of his executors to fit the high altar. The equipment for the boy bishop and, somewhat more doubtfully, the white satin vestment and its copes can be identified in Knyghteley's list. The cope flowered with red and black roses, and the cope with its orphreys embroidered with a Jesse, and some others appear in a list of goods which were seized five years afterwards.[1] Of the canopy for the sacrament I have found no trace, and the other vestments cannot be identified certainly.

To the altar of St. Stephen at York Minster Scrope bequeathed a vestment of red and black velvet with two amices, two stoles, and two fanons or maniples; and a vestment for Lent of white silk with a red cross, and two 'tablements', a frontal, two curtains, chasuble, alb, amice, stole, and maniple. Most of these appear in the later list mentioned above. Besides these vestments Scrope directed two other sets to be made by his executors out of his cloths.

To York Minster Scrope bequeathed four copes of motley velvet, red and white, embroidered with his own and his wife's arms. To Christchurch, Canterbury, a cope of cloth of gold, of green damask. To Shapton College[2] a cope of crimson 'baudekyn', with orphreys of blue velvet embroidered with images and stars of gold. To Coverham Abbey, six cloths to make vestments, two copes of motley velvet, black, red, and green, with red velvet orphreys embroidered with images. To the College of Windsor a noble vestment of white cloth of Cyprus with chasuble, tunicles, 'tablements', and four copes to match, with orphreys and borders, finely embroidered with his arms. To Louth Park Abbey two copes of red velvet, and one of white embroidered with stars. The bequest to Shapton appears in the later list, the others cannot be identified.

Finally, copes were bequeathed to the hospital of St. Leonard at York and to seventeen parish churches in which Scrope was interested, whilst a cope of motley velvet, red and black, together with all copes and apparatus of his chapel, was left to his heir. Thus there is a total of sixty-five copes bequeathed by the will, including some which it is at least possible do not appear in the other lists.

Knyghteley's inventory of ecclesiastical furniture ends with a list of forty-

[1] See p. 98 below.

[2] No Shapton College appears in the *Monasticon*, possibly there is an error in the printed copy.

five antiphonars and other service books, besides the copy of Genesis in French. The first word of the second folio is carefully given in each instance. But of Scrope's books there will be more to be said in another place.[1]

The second section of Knyghteley's inventory contains the jewels and plate.[2] The number of richly jewelled articles, the tabernacles, tablets, crucifixes, and images of gold and silver-gilt is remarkable. It is difficult to say how far any of them can be identified with the jewels which are mentioned in Scrope's will. To the high altar at York he left an image of the Virgin, a yard high, with two images of St. Peter and St. Paul of the same height, and an image of St. John the Baptist, all of silver-gilt; this he had from his father. Also a large silver cross without a foot. To St. Stephen's Altar a beautiful tablet, well painted with three images in the centre and his own arms on the back. Also his lesser silver-gilt image of St. John the Baptist, a pair of candelabra, a silver-gilt paxbred, two cruets, a silver 'tintinabulum', and a small cross with Mary and John, having a double cross in each corner, which Scrope had had made in London. Likewise three other painted tablets at the discretion of his executors. To the Shrine of St. John of Bridlington a collar of gold with white swans and little flowers. To the king an image of the Virgin with rubies and pearls. To his mother-in-law a gold tablet with images of the Virgin and St. Christopher. To his sister Maud, an ivory tablet carved with images, and a pendant cross. To his mother a gold cross with four pearls and a 'berill' at the foot. To his heir a pair of silver censers, a paxbred, two cruets, a ship for incense, and a holy-water bowl. Some of these certainly do not appear in Knyghteley's inventory, as neither do some other articles such as paternosters which are named in the will; but some of the paternosters and a few other things will be found in the later list.

I now turn to the secular plate. The list comprises a great number of vessels, bowls, cups, goblets, and spoons. Amongst the most noteworthy are the two flaskets of silver-gilt, chased with a scallop and a lion on the stopper, the one weighing over 33½ lb. and the other over 30 lb.; these are probably the ewers (*utribus*) which, with their red leather cases, were packed in the skippets. Attention may be directed to the decoration of various articles: a hanap of gold chased and engraved with a trail of leaves; a silver-gilt cup enamelled blue with birds and beasts; another cup standing on four 'debles',[3] with its cover engraved with oak-leaves; a goblet chased in the manner of a 'wynde', perhaps an allegorical head with puffed cheeks. The description of a 'Nief' and spice-plates, with their heraldic decoration, unfortunately not described in detail, is also to be noticed.[4] An interesting feature is the number of vessels with inscriptions.

[1] See pp. 82–3 below.
[2] See pp. 94–7 below.
[3] Possibly meaning crabs. See note on p. 85.
[4] See p. 97 below.

Six silver-gilt bowls, each with an enamel of 'Soubveniez de moy': a hanap with the motto 'A bon estreme': two ewers with the mottoes 'Pur lamour soit done' and 'Que nad plesaunce nad riens': another ewer with letters of 'grew' (or Greek)[1]. There were of course a number of articles with the Scrope arms. All these vessels were packed in six of the chests and standards and in the two skippets. The descriptions of Scrope's plate in other lists are not usually specific enough for identification.[2] But the mazer with cover and foot and silver-gilt borders, with a blue pommel on the top, which he left to his mother-in-law, does not seem to be included in Knyghteley's inventory.

The list of cloths and arras, with other things belonging to the wardrobe, does not call for much comment. There was a great quantity, nearly 60 costers, and over 20 coverlets and 29 curtains, with 19 pieces of arras and 57 pieces of worsted, besides smaller numbers of testers, selours, bankers, and carpets. Much of the stuff was no doubt costly, but of only a little is there any detailed description. One selour was worked with a rising sun in gold. A coverlet of red worsted was embroidered with a griffon. A white castle appears as the ornament of a coster and a selour. One grey coster of tapestry was worked with the letter M and crowns. Four pieces of tapestry were worked with letters of 'Augryme'[3] and grey crowns. Three costers were checked with eagles and roses. The Scrope arms within a garter occur often on various articles. There were a few articles of dress, the most important being a surcoat of scarlet furred with 'byce'[4] for Parliament; this was bequeathed by Scrope to his heir. At the end of the list comes a great tent of blue 'carde'; this is described in the will as a tent with six towers. It appears in the inventory of goods belonging to Henry V at his death, where it is described as a tent of blue 'carde', lined with linen cloth and furnished with a porch and alley; it was then valued at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Knyghteley's inventory does not give any prices, and the only indication of value is in the weight of the plate and jewels. The hanap, cup, and bowls of gold weighed $12\frac{1}{2}$ lb. The circlet and tabernacle of gold weighed nearly 8 lb., including the jewels. The weight of the rest, much of which was silver-gilt or enamelled, was close on four hundred pounds troy. For the whole of the goods in Knyghteley's inventory 3,000*l.* would probably be a moderate estimate.

The total value of Scrope's movable goods with which we have so far been concerned would on this figure have been about 5,000*l.*, or no more than he alleged was carried off in 1413. But the list is certainly not complete. Four years later, on 9th February 1419, Richard Norton, Thomas Broket, and Guy

[1] See pp. 96–7 below. [2] *Foedera*, ix, 276. [3] Arithmetic.
[4] Halliwell gives 'biche' as a kind of fur, the skin of the female deer.

Roucliff were appointed to inquire into the report that divers goods, jewels, vestments, and other things late of Henry le Scrope, had come into the hands of Dame Margery, his mother, and others of the county and city of York.[1] It was probably as a result of this inquiry that on 27th October 1419 Thomas Broket, Remembrancer of the Exchequer, who had been directed to discover from Dame Margery le Scrope what goods and jewels belonged to her son, was paid 8*l.* for his expenses in carriage and safe conduct of the goods and jewels from York to London.[2] In a Wardrobe Account for 1420–2 there appears a long list of goods of the late lord le Scrope which had been received from Thomas Broket. This list no doubt relates to the goods which Scrope's unhappy mother had managed to retain for a time. It consists chiefly of rich cloths and vestments. There are fourteen more copes. They include a cope of cloth of gold of Cyprus powdered with red and black roses, a cope of white damask, a cope of white cloth of gold of Cyprus with orphrey of Jesse, and five copes of cloth of gold of 'lukes', which were probably amongst those bequeathed to the high altar at York; and also a cope of red cloth of gold of Cyprus with orphreys of blue velvet, which is probably the one bequeathed to Shapton. Besides other vestments this list includes a great quantity of cloths of gold and tartarin, with some curtains, selours, and testers, and a quantity of linen sheets. Other articles were a coffer of copper-gilt, 'cum diversis rebus billatis ad modum Reliquarii'[3]; another small coffer with various things unknown and of moderate value; and a third small green coffer with three pairs of paternosters of gold, with others of pearl and amber, one having a crucifix of silver-gilt. These are the first paternosters to which we have had reference; but a number are mentioned in Scrope's will, one of gold which had belonged to his father, and others of amber or of jet; one of amber with a silver-gilt crucifix was bequeathed to the Prior of Bridlington. A curious entry in Broket's list is fifty-eight garters of the livery of St. George, of silk and gold; it is difficult to conjecture what Scrope could have wanted them for, and one is disposed to guess that they may have been included here through some error by a clerk of the king's wardrobe. The list ends with a Bible, a book called 'Beda de gestis Anglie', a book of Dominical Sermons, a tablet of ivory (crushed), a tablet of silver, gilt on the inside, with an image of the deity, a tablet of the Salutation of Saint Mary, and a psalter. Of the books there will be more to be said presently. Of the other things the ivory tablet may be the one carved with images which Scrope left to his sister Maud.[4]

This completes the list of Scrope's goods so far as I have been able to recover

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry V, i, 213. [2] Devon, *Issues of Exchequer*, pp. 359–61.

[3] Perhaps meaning: 'A coffer after the manner of a Reliquary with divers things scheduled or described in a bill.' There seems to be no other instance of a verb *billare*.

[4] *Foedera*, ix, 277.

it. But his very long will includes, besides those things which we have been able to identify with some certainty and other things of which the identification is doubtful, a number of articles which certainly do not appear in any of the lists of the things forfeited at his death. Of the general contents of the will I have already given incidentally an account sufficient for our present purposes. But there are some other specific bequests which require further mention. In the first place Scrope made a special bequest to his heir male of all the armour bequeathed to him by his father and of all his own armour, as also of a great tent with a hall and six towers, and likewise his two bastard saddles covered with red velvet, together with his saddles and all apparatus for jousting, to remain to his heirs for the munition of some fortress at Clifton or elsewhere and not to be sold. This was clearly a bequest of some importance. Of the tent we have heard already, and the property at London included some armour and harness, which was not, however, of any importance. The best of the actual armour was probably at Southampton in readiness for the French war. But even if Scrope had all his armour of any value in use, it is hardly likely that he had with him his apparatus for jousting. We must therefore suppose that after all the careful search that was made some goods were successfully concealed by interested persons.

Another prominent feature in the will is the number of books which were specifically bequeathed, besides others referred to in general terms. The complete list is as follows:

A missal bequeathed to Carleton church. An old missal covered in calf, bequeathed to Droslan church. A missal of the York Use. Lives of the Saints, in French. A portifory bound in blue velvet, which was given to him by the duke of Gloucester. A book of Meditations, bound in red cloth of gold of Cyprus. A book of Meditations: *inc.* Cum bona aventura cum passione. A Virginal, bound in blue cloth of gold of Cyprus. A French book: *inc.* Car tout ori soli que home fait de bouche. The Apocalypse, in Latin and French; well-illuminated and covered with linen cloth. A fine book of Matins and other prayers, covered with linen cloth: *inc.* Invocatio Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. A book which begins 'Cum libro vocato Sintillar', and containing the Incendium Amoris which Richard the Hermit[1] composed. A small quaternion containing the exposition on 'Iudica me Deus', which Richard the Hermit composed and wrote. A book of Homilies of St. George. A book of Homilies of St. Remy. A book of Homilies of the Venerable Bede. A book of the Revelations of St. Bridget, 'which I bought at Beverley'. A new Psalter, glossed and illuminated with the arms of Scrope and his wife. A book of Matins of the Cross covered with green silk. A book of Matins 'de compassione Virginis', and of Matins of the Trinity. A Roll: *inc.* Cum matutinis Sancti Anne. A book in English called 'Prick of Conscience', bound in white leather. A Bible bound in red leather. A Primer, with Matins of the Virgin in English. A Roll, with prayers to

[1] Richard Rolle of Hampole.

be said at Mass. An old Portifory of the Sarum Use. A book called Iohannes de Abbatis Villa. A book called Summa Iustitie. A Psalter, glossed. Two other books of Meditations.

The two last were to be selected at the discretion of his executors. Thus it is clear that the bequests did not include all Scrope's books. This appears also in the bequest to the abbess of Shene of books or vestments to the value of 10*l.* Further, his brother William had a bequest of two good books at the discretion of his executors, and Mary Maliverer had a similar bequest of a good book in French. His mother, Margery Scrope, was left two good books, and also all the books of his chapel. Thus the will contains reference to thirty-seven books besides the books of his chapel. Most of the books specifically described are of a religious character, about one-half are service books. Some of the latter probably appear amongst the fifty books given in Knyghteley's inventory. The books in the latter list are chiefly service books, but two of them are of special interest; the York Martiloge, since no Martiloge has yet been recognized as of the York Use; and the Missal of the Bangor Use, which is of importance as deciding the vexed question whether such a Use ever existed. There also appear 'Genesis' in French, three 'Legenda Sanctorum', and a Life of St. Bridget. The legends are apparently all in Latin; in the will there is mention of a volume of Lives of the Saints in French. The will mentions a book of the Revelations of St. Bridget, which may or may not be identical with the Life in Knyghteley's list. In Broket's inventory there are four books, viz. a bible, Bede 'de Gestis Anglie', a volume of sermons, and a psalter. The bible and psalter may be two of those mentioned in the will. But altogether we know that Scrope must have possessed nearly eighty volumes, of which over twenty do not appear in the inventories of forfeited goods. Nearly all the books are of a religious character, and seeing that most of those mentioned specifically in the will were personal bequests, they probably represent only one section of his library. Of Scrope's books the only surviving trace is an Ordinal which is now bound up in *Stowe* MS. 12, at the British Museum; this was probably written for Archbishop Scrope and may probably have been in his nephew's possession, though it is certainly not one of the three Ordinals mentioned in the will.[1]

It remains to trace, so far as possible, the later history of Scrope's forfeited goods. Grants out of such property formed an easy way of rewarding services. On 30th October a knight and a bishop of the king of Denmark, who had been

[1] As proved by the Incipit: the second folio of the Stowe Ordinal begins 'untur sic dominum'. This ordinal forms ff. 358 95 of the Stowe MS. The arms of Scrope of Masham appear on f. 358, and there is evidence that it was written before 1383.

in England on their master's business, received as a gift from King Henry on their return home two cups and two ewers of silver-gilt, late the property of Henry lord le Scrope.[1] It is not clear whether these vessels were part of the London forfeiture; their total value is given as 17*l.* 10*s.*, the average valuation of the ewers in the London inquisition was 2*l.* 6*s.*, and of the hanaps 3*l.* 19*s.*, which is much less than the sum allowed in the Exchequer; there is no reference to any such grant in the London Escheator's Account; if, however, these vessels were not part of the London forfeiture, they can only be accounted for as seized at Southampton. We have already had reference to two other grants out of the Southampton forfeiture. At the end of November Robert Cliderowe and David Cawardyn, two grooms of the King's Chamber, were sent to London to take charge of Scrope's goods there. They themselves received a grant of the four 'uplands', together with six old tapets of red and black worsted, twenty-four pairs of sheets, and six pieces of old napery, all of which are described as much used.[2] On 27th November 673*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, money of Henry le Scrope found in London, was paid into the Exchequer by the hands of Cliderowe and Cawardyn. On 20th December Thomas Chitterne, the keeper of the King's jewels, accounted for 379*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, the value of divers vessels of silver formerly of Henry late lord le Scrope. Probably this represents the London plate, the total value of which was, however, 438*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*; but Sir John Rothenale already had a prest of 37*l.* on the vessels, dated 25th October, and there may have been some other grants like the one to the bishop and knight of Denmark. A good portion of Scrope's property can, however, be traced in the royal possession for some time to come. In the long inventory of the goods of Henry V, drawn up by his executors under the head of goods of lord le Scrope in the keeping of the wardrobe, there appear three pairs of paternosters of gold and other articles. Some other items in this inventory can be identified as Scrope's by the fact that they bore his arms; these include a number of tapets, a 'celer' of silk with the arms of Scrope and crabs, and a bed of worsted with the arms of carbuncles. And finally, as has already been mentioned, there is the tent.[3]

[1] *Exchequer of Receipt*, Issue Roll 623, 30th October.

[2] *Escheator's File*, 1067/6.

[3] The full list is as follows: 'Les biens de Syr l'Escrop en la garde du dit garderober: item, iij Peir Paternostres d'or ovec j petit broche et j petit tabulet, poisant tout ensemble iiij unc. di., pris l'unce xx. s., en tout iiij li. x. s.; item, j Maser esteant sur iiij angelx, garniz d'argent dorrez, pris xxxvij s.; item j autre Maser ovec l'armes d'Escrop en la founce, garniz d'argent dorrez, pris xxvj s. viij d.; item, j autre Maser garniz d'argent dorrez, pris xiij s. iiij d.; item, j autre Maser garniz d'argent dorrez, pris x s.; item, j petit Coffrette, garniz de copre dorrez, ovec divers reliques (*no price*); item, j Peir Bedis d'amber ovec j Crucifix d'argent dorrez, pris iij s. iiij d.

'ij Tapites vermailles ovec armes d'Escrop, dount j de ij verges di. de longure et ij verges de large, et l'autre d'un verge di. de longure et ij verges de large, en tout viij verges ovec les armes d'Escrop (*part of a larger lot, priced at* 1*s. the square yard*).

In a Wardrobe Account for 1423 there appears a list of goods entrusted to John Stafford[1]; the majority of them are former possessions of Henry Scrope which were included in Broket's list of 1419. This Wardrobe Account also includes other articles from Broket's list, which remained in the custody of the wardrobe; amongst these latter were the books and the crushed tablet of ivory, which continue to appear in the Wardrobe Accounts as late as 1430. Of the ultimate fate of Scrope's goods we can only make a guess. The greater part of the vessels of gold and silver were in all probability melted down to help meet the expenses of the war, whilst the vestments and rich cloths were presumably worn out in the king's service. The particulars given by Knyghteley may possibly enable some of the books to be traced.

The forfeiture of Richard Gurmyn is interesting as affording a contrast to that of Scrope. But the record of the inquisition is also valuable in itself as throwing some fresh light on the history of an obscure person. Fox, the Martyrologist, who wrongly calls him 'Turmyn', states that he could find no record of his sentence.[2] Really all that has been known of Gurmyn is that he was an associate of John Claydon, and was probably executed at the same time, since the Sheriffs of London in this year charged 20*s.* 'about the burning of John Claydon, skinner, and *George* Gurmyn, baker, Lollards convicted of heresy'.[3] The London Chronicles record the execution of Claydon and Gurmyn together without giving the date.[4] Endell Tyler stated that he had searched the records in St. Paul's Cathedral, but without success, for any account of the proceedings against Gurmyn.[5] Dr. Wylie thought that 'there was evidently some excess of zeal on the part of the authorities', and conjectured that the mayor, when Claydon's burning was in hand, burnt Gurmyn also without more ado.[6] The reason for this conjecture is found in a contemporary slander that, when Gurmyn had letters of grace and pardon from the king to have as well his life as his goods and chattels, Thomas Fauconer the mayor, of his own malice aforethought, did cause as well the said Richard as the Letters Patent aforesaid to be burnt and destroyed by fire in West Smithfield. This story was

'Item, veil Ceel de Soy, ouverez du brouderie des armes d'Escrop et de crabbes, et j Lite de Worsted, les bordures de Soy, ovec les armes de Charbokles, pris de toutz xx s.

'j Tapite de Bloy tapicerie ovec armes d'Escrop, pris ij s.

'ij Tentes de bloy carde, linez de toill linge, queux furent du Syr Herry d'Escrop, ovec j Porche et j Aley, pris de tout vj li. xiij s. iiij d.'

See *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 224, 233, 239, 240. 'Scrubz', meaning a crab, was the supposed origin of the family name, and the crab was the ancient Scrope badge: cf. Wylie, *Henry IV*, ii, 192.

[1] L. T. R., *Foreign Accounts*, Roll 6, mm. 11, 15, 18.

[2] *Acts and Monuments*, iii, 534, ed. Townsend.

[3] Tyler, *Memorials of Henry V*, ii, 401.

[4] *Chronicles of London*, 69.

[5] Tyler, *u. s.* ii, 394.

[6] *Henry V*, i, 292.

put about in the following year by one John Russell, a wool-packer, who even went so far as to assert that Fauconer was imprisoned in the Tower and only obtained his release by payment of 1,000*l.* For this slander Russell was ordered on 31st July 1416 to stand in the pillory on three market-days with a whetstone about his neck, in token of his being a liar. Russell took sanctuary at Westminster, where he remained nine months, to the great loss of his mainpernors, who endeavoured without success to take and produce him. But at the last Russell, in contrition for his misdeed and for the injury which he had done to his friends, voluntarily came out of sanctuary, and on 26th April 1417 made full confession before the mayor.[1] Some further light is thrown on the incident by the record of proceedings in Chancery taken by Thomas Fauconer, who represented that John Russell, woolmonger, John Eston, joiner, and another had filed a petition in the Exchequer alleging that he as mayor and escheator had taken their goods to their great loss; Fauconer declared that the goods in question belonged to Richard Gurmyn, baker, and were seized by the sheriffs under a writ as forfeit to the king.[2] Russell is very probably the same man as the 'Russell a woolman', who was executed for complicity in Jack Sharpe's rebellion in 1431.[3] In the record of the inquisition as to Gurmyn's goods we get the positive statement that 'Richard Gurmyn of London, baker, was convicted of heresy before Richard Clifford, bishop of London, on Saturday the eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and afterwards on the Monday next following by virtue of the King's writ addressed to the sheriffs was burnt in Smithfield'. This fixes 9th September 1415 for the date of his execution. The *Greyfriars Chronicle* gives 10th September as the date of Claydon's execution[4]; but that Chronicle is a late compilation and may very possibly be in error. In the record of Claydon's trial on 17th August 1415 it is stated that he admitted having discussed the articles of the faith with Richard Gurmyn, a baker, who he also admitted was defamed of many as one whom they thought to be a heretic.[5] It was this which probably led to Gurmyn's arrest, trial, and execution.

The inquisition throws no further light on Gurmyn and his opinions, but his goods were valued at 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and he had also bonds for money due to him amounting to 165*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* He was therefore clearly a man of some substance. There is nothing in the list of goods which relates to his alleged trade as a baker; apart from ordinary household goods, furniture, clothing, and arms, his chief possessions were 112½ pounds of pewter, 29 pounds of laton and 21 stone of wool. The arms were perhaps no more than a man of his

[1] Riley, *Memorials of London Life*, 630–4.
[2] *Early Chancery Proceedings*, 6/69; the original is unfortunately mutilated.
[3] *Chronicles of London*, 97, 134; *Gregory's Chronicle*, 172.
[4] ap. *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii, 165.
[5] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii, 532.

position might reasonably possess. There was a small quantity of plate, the whole valued at 6*l.* 18*s.* The most interesting items are the furniture; including a writing-board (which implies that Gurmyn, unlike Claydon, was able to read); however, the whole lot were only worth 4*s.* 11*d.*, the chests (at 3*s.*) being the only articles not of trivial value; the chest was similarly the most valuable piece of furniture at Scrope's inn, where, as we saw, the whole value of the furniture was only 13*s.*; if the lists are both complete the Lollard's furniture does not compare unfavourably with the noble's. There were of course also costers, curtains, bankers, and other like goods, together with miscellaneous kitchen articles and tools. The only items worth notice were an embroidered bed of worsted worth 13*s.* 4*d.*, and a 'daggeswayn' (a rough coverlet) worth 2*s.* The clothes were such as befitted a well-to-do citizen. The list concludes with two 'forsers' and 'divers trash' worth 2*d.* One interesting feature in early inventories is the illustration which they afford for the history of words, and this is a case in point. In the Oxford Dictionary it is stated that with the exception of one doubtful instance the word 'trash' is known only from the sixteenth century: but in this inquisition in the early years of the fifteenth century we have 'trash' used familiarly in its secondary signification of rubbish. The disposal of Gurmyn's forfeited property gave little trouble. The bonds were no doubt realized and the money paid into the Exchequer. As for the goods, on 28th January 1416 Jordan de Worseley, one of the yeomen of the king's chamber, obtained a grant to the value of 21*l.* of the goods of Richard Gurmyn of London, 'baker', who was convicted before the bishop of London of divers errors and heresies and afterwards burnt for them.[1]

I. INQUISITIONS

(*a*) London

The London Inquisition was taken before Thomas Fauconer, the mayor, on 4th October 1415. The original (*Escheator's File*, 1067/1), though otherwise in good preservation, is much faded and in places difficult to decipher. But the Account rendered to the Exchequer (*Escheator's Accounts*, $\frac{108}{12}$) is fortunately in perfect condition and from it all doubtful words can be made good. In the Account the price of every item is given in full. The total for the money is 940*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*, and for the vessels of silver and silver-gilt, 438*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* The value of the other goods was 41*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*; but goods to the value of 21*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* were not accounted for since they had already been granted away to Robert Cliderowe and David Cawardyn, by a writ dated 2nd December 1415, before the Account was rendered.

Here, as in the other inquisitions, it is sufficient for our present purpose to give only the finding of the jury.

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry V, i, 388.

Dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Henricus nuper dominus le Scrope obiit seisitus in dominico suo vt de feodo de vno hospicio cum suis pertinenciis situato in parochia Sancti Benedicti iuxta Pauleswharff in Warda de Baynard castell dicte ciuitatis, et valet per annum vltra reprisas iiij marcas. Dicunt eciam quod supradictus Henricus habuit inuentas in auro in custodia Willelmi Basket, ciuis et pelliparii London., D. marcas ; et in custodia Johannis Whatton, ciuis et piscenarii London., iiij^{c} iiij^{xx} xv marcas ; et de incremento predicte summe vt de superplus ponderis x. li. ij. s. viij. d. ; et in custodia Willelmi Ratsey C. marcas ; et in custodia Ricardi Throkenild cc. li.

Item, vn poot dargent enorrez, poisant xiiij lb. et vn vnc. de troy. Item, vn altre poot dargent enorrez, poisant xiij lb. viij vnc. di. Item, vn altre poot de mesme soort, poisant xiij lb. di. vnc., pris lb. xlvj s. viij d. Item, vn crosse dargent et Berell enorrez, poisant vij oz. di., pris en tout xxvj s. viij d. Item, vj Ewers dargent de diuerse soortes, poisant vij lb. ij vnc. di., pris lb. xliij s. iiij d. Item, iiij Ewers dargent, poisant v lb., pris lb. xxx s. Item, xxxiiij quillers dargent enorrez, poisant ij lb. ix vnc. di., pris lb. xxx s. Item, xiij quillers dargent enorrez, poisant xiiij vnc. j quart., pris lb. xliij s. iiij d. Item, vj Gobelettes dargent ou vn couercle, poisant iij lb. iij quart. de vn vnc., pris lb. xxxij s. Item, vn fork dargent pur Grenegenger, et vn Chawfre dargent pur le Table, poisant vn lb. iij vnc. di., pris lb. xxx s. Item, iiij Salers dargent pur sale couerez, poisant iij lb. x vnc. iij quart. de vnc., pris lb. xxxij s. Item, vn petit Chaundelure pur le Chapell enorre, poisant vj vnc., pris lb. xxxiij s. iiij d. Item, ij Spiceplatis dargent, poisant viij lb. vij vnc. di., pris lb. xxxiij s. iiij d. Item, iij Hanapis dargent couerez, poisant vij lb., pris lb. xxx s. Item, ix Hanapis dargent enorrez, poisant xviij lb. iiij vnc., pris lb. xl s. Item, vn Salere door, appelle vn hanap en le Endenture, ou vn balis desuis le couercle, ij lb. vn vnc., pris vnc. xxv s. Item, ij pootes dargent enorrez couerez, poisant v lb. iiij vnc. di., pris lb. xl s. Item, iiij basines dargent, poisant xvj lb. xj vnc., pris lb. xxx s. Item, iiij Basines dargent enorrez, poisant xxvij lb., pris lb. xl s. Item, ij Chargers dargent enorrez, poisant vij lb. ij vnc., pris lb. xl s. Item, xxxiiij Esquiles dargent, poisant xlvij lb., pris lb. xxx s. Item, xj sawcers dargent, poisant v lb. iiij vnc., pris lb. xxx s. Item, vn Chalis dargent enorrez, poisant xx vnc., pris vnc. iij s. iiij d. Item, argent de pointis et linkis, appelle Brokin-siluer, poisant ij lb. vij vnc., pris lb. xxx s. Item, vn Hanap de Berell garnise ou ore, pris xx marc. Item, vn Pruce-chest liez ou ferre, la au mesmes lez bienz furont, pris iiij s.

Item, vn Vpland[1] long de Scarlet furre ou broungrey, pris vj l. xiij s. iiij d. Item, vn Vpland di. long de scarlet, furre ou meniver, pris xl s. Item, vn Vpland long de vert et les maunches ou tarterin et le corps ou carde line, pris xiij s. iiij d. Item, vn Vpland long de noire veluet, le corps furre ou veillis martiruns et lez maunches lines, pris lxvj s. viij d. Item, vj Tapites de rouge et noire Wostid, peruses,[2] pris peyr xxiij s. iiij d. Item, v Tapites de rouge et noire Wostid, veillis, pris xvj s. viij d. Item, vij paire linthem. de bastard Reinis, pris paire lun ouesque lautre ix s. vj d. ; summa lxvj s. vj d. Item, x paire linthem. de Champane, pris paire v s. ; summa l s. Item, vij paire linthem. de Braban, pris paire iij s. iiij d. ; summa xxiij s. iiij d. Item, vn bordcloth de Paris werke, peruse, pris xx d. Item, ij bordecloth de Denaunt, peruses, pris iij s. Item, iiij bordecloth de course cloth, pris iij s. Item, vn Spice towaill de Reynis, peruse, pris iiij d. Item, vn long towaille et vn court de Pariswerk, peruses, pris xij d. Item, ij sadel clothis, dount vn rouge et vn noir, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, vn Espee harnese ou argent enorres, pris viij s. Item, vn Lete de tarterin rouge et noire palid, de di. Celour oue curteins et ij Quisshons de mesme, pris xl s. Item, vn doubelete de defense de fustian, pris iiij s. Item, iij peces de tartarin, cont. en long xxj verges, pris verge ij s. ; Summa xlij s. Item, ij Remenauntes de veluet rouge, pris v s. Item, vn drap, vn reredos et ij Curteins, steinid, pur le Chapell, pris iij s. Item, vn fruntell et ij Curteins de tarterin Ray, pris xx s. Item,

[1] More commonly called a Houpland.

[2] Here and elsewhere this word has been inserted thus, 'pus' ; the Account has *perusitate*.

vn dagge et vn bedowe, pris v s. Item, vn petit Chest liez ou ferr, pris vj s. viij d. Item, iij habergeons, pris xv s. Item, vn brestplate, vn pauise, et vn paire Quischewes de maile, pris xx s. Item, vn helme, pris xx d. Item, vn barell pur armure, pris v s. Item, vn materas de blu card, pris ij s. Item, vn quilt, pris iij s. Item, vn carpit pur le barge, pris xx d. Item, iiij Quischons, pris viij d. Item, ij veillis Costeris de blu worstid, pris xij d. Item, vn fethirbed, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, vn Chest appell vn countour, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, vn veill Chest, pris xij d. Item, vn petit Chest et vn trussing-coffre pur le Chaundery et ij lb. de Cere, pris iij s. Item, parcelx de vn paire brigantiers, pris xij d. Item, vn Espee saunz Scawberd, pris xvj d. Item, iiij veillis Somersadils et ij Malesadils, pris iij s. Item, ij veillis justing sadils, pris xij d. Item, vn tester et vn piser, pris vj s. iiij d. Item, vj Cropours de noire et ij bittis de veill harneise, vn bridil et vn cropour rouge et noire, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, iiij sadil brusses, pris ij d. Item, v veillis bridils, pris ij s. vj d.

Item, ij Gridirnis et iiij Spittis de ferre, poisant C.iiij^{xx} xvj lb., pris lb. j d. ob.; summa xxiiij s. vj d. Item, vn Chawfre pur ewe, poisant xvj lb., pris lb. iij d.; summa iiij s. Item, vn grate, pris vj d. Item, vn poot de quire sanz couerture, pris v d. Item, vn graunt poot de bras appell vn Standard, pur le Cosyn, poisant Cxliij lb., pris lb. iij d.; summa, xxxv s. ix d. Item, ij pannis de copre, poisant lxxviij lb., pris lb. iij d.; summa xix s. vj d. Item, ij pottis, ij pannis, iiij posenettis, poisant Cij lb., pris lb. j d. ob.; summa, xij s. ix d. Item, ij Rakkis de ferre, poisant lx lb., pris lb. j d. ob.; summa, vij s. vj d. Item, vj Treies pur le Cosyn, pris x d. Item, ij veillis botels, pris iiij d. Item, vn paire Wrestes pur Justis, et iij altre paire de copre enorrez, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, veillis Sporis, pris x d. Item, vn telde de noire et rouge Wademole pur le barge, pris viij s. Item, vn ancre ou lez beilis, pris vj s. Item, vn morter et vn pestell, pris ij s. vj d. Item, iiij Stolis Joynid, pris ij s. viij d. Item, v Stolis veillis joynez, pris xvj d. Item, iiij paire trestell, pris xij d. Item, vn petit coupbord, pris [vj. d]. Item, vn paire trestell et iiij presse-bordes, pris vj d. Item, iij veillis Tables et ij paire trestell en le Sale, pris ij s. Item, vn Chest en le Sale, pris v s. Item, bordes en le Cosyne, pris xij d. Item, iij formill, pris vj d. Item, viij Tubbes, pris ij s. Item, glassis et verris, pris iiij s. iiij d.

In cuius rei testimonium Juratores predicti huic Inquisicioni sigilla sua apposuerunt.

(*b*) Suffolk.

The Inquisition was held at Byldeston on 9th October 1415. It was found that Scrope held the Manors of Neddyng and Kettelbarston (*Escheator's File*, 1200). The Inquisition concludes as follows:

Item, dicunt quod prefatus Henricus le Scrope habuit predicto die mercurii vltimo die Julii et postea diuersa bona et catalla in dictis Maneriis: xxx vaccas, precii capitis vj s. viij d. Item, habuit vj equos debiles per caput, precii capitis vj s. viij d. Item, habuit vj^{xx} oues matrices, precii capitis xiij d. Item, habuit viij^{xx} agnellos, precii capitis vj d. Item, habuit xij hogges, precii capitis xxij d. Item, habuit xvj quarteria frumenti, precii quarterii iiij s. Item, xviij quarteria ordei, precii quarterii ij s. iiij d. Item, habuit xvj quarteria avene, precii quarterii xx d. Item, habuit xvj quarteria pisarum, precii quarterii ij s.

(*c*) Lincolnshire.

The Inquisition was held at Lincoln on 30th September 1415 (*Escheator's File*, 1116).

Dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Henricus le Scrop, chiualer, qui erga Dominum Regem proditorie forisfecit die mercurii vltimo die Julii vltimo preterito, habuit die quo forisfecit bona subscripta: videlicet in manibus Ricardi Cosyn de Barnobbe [Thome Terry de Carleton] vij li. in pecunia numerata. Item, in manibus Johannis Terry de Carleton xxj s. Item, in manibus Roberti Honson de Shepyng xxvj s. viij d. Item, in manibus Johannis Davy de Carleton xxx s. in pecunia numerata. Item, apud Carleton in manibus Walteri Man j ollam

eneam debilem, continentem xxj libr., precii libr. j d. ob. Nulla alia bona seu catalla, terras vel tenementa habuit predictus Henricus in comitatu Lincolniensi die quo forisfecit, que predicta Jurata ad presens noscere potest.

(*d*) Yorkshire.

The Inquisition was held at Faxflete on 17th September 1415; four returns were made (*Escheator's File*, 722/1–4). The second and third are given below; both are in bad condition and the defects can only in part be made good from the *Escheator's Account* (Ebor. $\frac{58}{2}$). From the Account it appears that by Letters Patent dated 6th [August] the king had assigned John Waterton to seize all Scrope's goods and chattels wherever found; this statement was apparently made to explain the meagre character of the return. The original is too imperfect to reproduce. The findings at the Inquisition are given, with such supplement of missing words as the Account affords.

(1) Dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Henricus Scrop de Masham, chiualer, qui pro diuersis prodicionibus . . . factis forisfecit, habuit die forisfacture bona et catalla subscripta infra manerium de Faxflete in dicto comitatu Ebor., videlicet: ij hallynges valde debiles, viij lecti coopertoria, iiij tapites, iiij matresses, xij lodices debiles, iij happyng[1] fresid veteres, iiij coschyns veteres, vj costours de Worsted, ij Selours de Worsted veteres et debiles, iij testers, j mantyll, . . . rakkes ferri, j broke ferri, viij tubbes et pipas vacuas cum ij plumbis pro bracina et iiij^{or} plumbis pro Worte imponendo, et cum j pipa vini . . . valde debiles, et cum turbis et focali infra manerium predictum, pretii x li. xvj s. viij d. Que omnia bona et catalla predicta deuenerunt ad manus Galfridi lescrop, chiualer . . . apud Faxflete predictum die Veneris proximo ante festum sancti Mathei apostoli dicto anno. *The Account adds*: et idem Galfridus . . . eidem prefato escaetori reddere recusauit vnde Regi responsurus est.

(2) Both the Inquisition and the Account are in very bad condition. The Inquisition began with a return of corn, hay, pease, and cattle, &c., in the fields and grange; from the Account the total value appears to have been 19*l*. Other goods then follow:

iij pipas vini rubei, prec. pip. xxxiij s. iiij d.; vnde summa c s. Item ij paria organum, j paruum Clokke. Item ix petras plumbi, prec. petr. vj d.; vnde summa xxx s. Item, xlvij libras cere non operate, prec. lb. v d.; vnde summa [xix s. vij d. Item, xiij quart.] carbonum, prec. quart. x d.; vnde summa x s. x d. Item, quinque ollas eneas et iij patellas pro coquina ibidem, ponderis xx . . .; vnde summa lx s. Item, j frying-panne, ij rakkes, j rostirne, iiij spitis et ij brochis ferri, ponderis x . . .; vnde summa x s. Item, iiij^{xx} iiij discas et potagers et salsaria de pewter, ponderis x petr., prec. petr. xviij d.; vnde summa [xv s.]. Item, quinque porcellas vocatas Scaldyngges, prec. in gross. xlvj s. viij d. *The return concludes with*: vj animalia vocata Stagges que inuenta fuerunt apud Vpsall et Burton.

II. RICHARD KNYGHTELEY'S INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF HENRY LE SCROPE.

This Inventory of goods removed from Pontefract in December 1415 was not formally entered in the Exchequer till ten years later, and now appears in L. T. R., *Foreign Accounts*, 4 Henry VI, Roll 60. Roll 60 is defective for p. 97 below; but the subsequent discovery of Knyghteley's own Account in *Exchequer* (K.R) *Accounts* $\frac{513}{24}$ has enabled me to make good the missing words. The character of the Inventory is described on pp. 76–80 above.

Recepta bonorum et catallorum que

Compotus Ricardi Knygtley, quem dominus Rex Henricus quintus per litteras suas patentes, datas xxj die Nouembris anno regni sui tercio, assignauit ad sufficiens cariagium pro certis bonis et catallis, que fuerunt Henrici lescrop, chiualer, defuncti, qui versus Regem forisfecit,

[1] A coarse coverlet; 'happing' is still in use in Yorkshire.

infra castrum Regis de Pountfreyt in custodia dilecti armigeri Regis, Roberti Waterton, existentibus, vsque ciuitatem Regis London ducendis infra libertates et extra, pro denariis Regis in hac parte racionabili soluendis, feodo ecclesie dumtaxat excepto, prouidendum et capiendum, videlicet de hujus bonis et catallis que fuerunt dicti Henrici lescrop vt infra. fuerunt Henrici domini lescrop.

Idem reddit computum de vna cista quadrata et stricta de robustis tabulis, sigillata cum torches et tortes ; vno libro vocato Genesys scripto in Gallicis ; j case cum tabelemeyne de ebore ; j magno standart rubeo, sigillato et ligato cum ferro et firmato cum duplici serrura, cum bonis dicti Henrici nuper domini lescrop ; j alio standard nigro, sigillato et ligato cum ferro et firmato cum duplici serrura, cum consimilibus bonis ; vna cista nigra, sigillata et firmata cum vna serrura ac ligata cum cordis, cum bonis predicti Henrici ; vna cista de Pruys, sigillata et ligata cum ferro ac firmata cum vno hengelok, cum bonis predicti Henrici ; vna alia cista de Pruys, ligata cum ferro, firmata et sigillata cum sigillo Johannis Waterton, armigeri, cum bonis eiusdem Henrici ; vna alia cista de Pruys, ligata cum ferro, firmata et sigillata cum sigillo predicti Iohannis, cum bonis predicti Henrici ; vna longa cista duplicata et quadrata, ex vna parte sigillata et alia parte firmata cum vna serrura, cum bonis predicti Henrici ; vna cista rubea, quadrata et firmata cum vna serrura et sigillata, cum bonis eiusdem Henrici ; vna cista duplicata, granata et sigillata, ex vna parte firmata cum vna serrura et alia parte non firmata, cum bonis predicti Henrici lescrop ; vna cista, sigillata et firmata cum vna serrura, cum bonis predicti Henrici ; vna cista quadrata, sigillata, de robustis tabulis, firmata cum vna serrura, cum bonis predicti Henrici ; j magno Costere de Aras sine auro ; et alio magno Costere de Aras sine auro ; et alio magno Costere de Aras operato cum auro ; j alio magno Coster sine auro ; j alio magno Coster de Aras cum auro ; vno alio Coster de Aras sine auro cum vno castro albo ; j magno coopertorio de Aras cum auro, duplicato cum blodio carde ; j alio magno Coster de Aras cum auro ; j alio veteri Coster de Aras cum auro, et duplicato cum panno lineo ; j alio coster nouo de Aras simplice ; vno alio coster de Aras ; j tester de nouo Aras cum auro ; vno coopertorio de nouo Aras cum auro ; j selour de nouo Aras cum auro ; vno alio coster de Aras simplice ; vna pecia de Aras simplice ; vno alio magno coster de Aras cum auro et duplicato ; vna alia pecia de nouo Aras simplice ; vna alia pecia de nouo Aras simplice ; j coster de nouo Aras largo cum auro ; j selour de nouo Aras dupplicato et operato cum auro, cum sole leuante in eodem ; vno alio coster de Aras cum auro ; vno alio coster de Aras ; vno alio coster de Aras ; vna alia magna pecia de Aras noua et simplice cum auro ; vj peciis de nouo Aras simplice ; iiij paruis peciis de Aras et iiij magnis peciis de Aras simplice ; ij vtribus argenti deaurati, operatis ad modum de Scaloppas, inclusis in ij casys de rubeo coreo ; j paruo skipit [1] sigillato cum signeto predicti Iohannis Waterton ; j alia majori skipet, sigillato cum eodem signeto ; j materas de viridi carde ; vno veteri coopertorio de rubeo Worsted embraudato cum j Griffon ; v costers de rubeo Worsted embraudatis cum armis lescrop ; vno magno coster de rubeo Worsted embraudato cum armis lescrop et aliis ; j coopertorio de rubeo Worsted embraudato cum vno castro albo ; ij pannis pro formulis de rubeo Worsted ; j coster vetere de rubeo Worsted ; j coster de rubeo Worsted embraudato cum albis litteris ; j coster vetere de albo Worsted ; ij costers de Worsted albo cum armis lescrop infra j garter ; ij peciis de Worsted albo cum armis lescrop infra j garter ; vna pecia de eadem sorte sine armis ; ij ffustians ; j coster glauco de opere tapeserie cum litteris de M. coronatis ; j selour ; j testour de rubeo albo et viridi Worsted ; ij coopertoriis de Worsted albo cum armis lescrop infra j garter ; j paruo coster de Worsted albo plano ; j coster de Worsted palith [2] de rubeo viridi et albo ; vno veteri coopertorio de serico palith cum rubeo et blodio ; vij curteyns de viridi panno de auro ; j selour ; j testour de Tarteryn rubeo cum litteris albis ; vno coopertorio de eadem secta ; iij curteyns de eadem secta sine litteris ; iij curteyns de blodio Tarteryn ; j veteri testour ; j selour et iij curteyns de veteri rubeo Tarteryn ; iiij peciis de Worsted palith rubeo albo et viridi ; vna parua pecia de Worsted palith albo et viridi ; j quylte de

[1] A wicker basket.

[2] paled, compare 'chekkith' below.

rubeo veteri Tarteryn; ij veteribus puluinaribus de blodio panno de auro; ij puluinaribus de viridi Chamelet; j veteri puluinare serici; vna pecia de opere tapeserie blodie cum armis lescrop; vno coopertorio blodio pro vno lecto, furrato cum veteri menever; vno coopertorio pro vno lecto de Sanguyn, furrato cum menever; vno coopertorio pro vno lecto de Scarleta, furrato cum menever; vno coopertorio de panno glauco pro vno lecto, furrato cum menever; ij bankers de opere tapeserie viridis; xij carpettes diuersis coloribus de maiori et minori quantitate; vno veteri coopertorio de rubeo Worstede embraudato cum draconibus; vno coopertorio de Worsted rubeo embraudato cum litteris albis; j coster de rubeo Worsted plano; iiij costers de rubeo Worsted embraudatis cum albis litteris; ij veteribus costers de Worsted rubeo planis; iij paruis peciis de rubeo Worsted planis; j coster de Worsted palith rubeo albo et viridi; j selour; j testour; j curteyne veteri de blodio carde; ij mantellis de frisio hibernico; j vetere tapit de opere tapeserie cum capitibus leopardorum; vno coopertorio veteri palith cum rubeo et albo de opere tapeserie cum armis lescrop; j veteri tapit de eodem opere cum armis predictis; iij peciis de eodem opere circumdatis cum albis signis; vno coopertorio albo de eodem opere cum armis lescrop in j garter; vno coopertorio rubeo de eodem opere cum armis lescrop; j tapit de eadem sorte pro j clothsak; vna parua pecia de eodem opere cum albis signis; ij peciis de eadem secta; iiij peciis de eodem opere albis cum litteris de Augryme[1] et coronis glaucis; vno coopertorio; iij costeres chekkith[2] cum aquilis et rosis de eodem opere; j coster de eadem secta; vna parua pecia de eodem opere cum armis lescrop; vna pecia de eodem opere blodia cum armis lescrop; j Surcote de Scarleta pro parliamento furrato cum byce[3]; vno capucio de eadem secta; j mantell de Scarleta furrato cum menever; vna toga de Scarleta furrata cum byce; vna toga de Sanguyne cum garter furrata; vno veteri coopertorio pro vno lecto de blodio furrato cum veteri byce; vj reman. de canevas nouis pro coopertura ferdell; iiij paruis canevas pro lectis; viij peciis de Worsted palith albo viridi et rubeo, maioribus et minoribus; j testour; j selour de rubeo Worsted embraud. cum vno castro; ij costeres de rubeo Worsted, vnde j embraud. et alio plano; vna parua pecia de opere tapeserie rubea cum armis lescrop; iij costers de eodem opere glaucis, operatis cum litteris de M. coronatis; vna pecia de Worsted albo embraud. cum armis lescrop in j garter; j coster de rubeo Worsted embraud. cum litteris; j banker de rubeo et nigro Worsted palith; ij costers de eadem secta; vno coopertorio; j tapit; j selour de opere tapeserie palith de rubeo et nigro cum armis lescrop; iij puluinaribus veteribus de serico; vna parua pecia de ffustian; ij costers de albo Worsted; j selour; j tapit de nigro Worsted; j banker de opere tapeserie; iij curteyns de nigro bokeram; j paruum carpet; j veteri parua pecia de Aras; xij peciis de blodio Worsted, maioribus et minoribus; vna parua pecia de [4] palith de albo rubeo et viridi; xxiij peciis de Worsted, maioribus et minoribus, de nigro et rubeo palith; v curteyns de rubeo Worsted veteri; ij veteribus costers palith de albo et rubeo; ij costers de albo Worstede plane; iij carpettes; vj peciis de Worstede palith albo et nigro, maioribus et minoribus; vno coopertorio de blodio pro vno lecto, furrato cum menever; xj peciis de blodio carde, veteribus, maioribus et minoribus; j magno tente de blodio carde; xxxvij superpelliciis de diuersis sortibus; iij veteribus clothsakkes; j vessell de peutre cooperto, et v. s. in denariis liberatis predicto Ricardo pro ij veteribus cistis sic venditis et j coster de albo Worsted cum armis lescrop infra j garter; receptis de predicto Johanne Waterton per indenturam inde inter prefatum Johannem Waterton et Ricardum Knyghteley factam, recepcionem bonorum et catallorum predictorum testificantem, super hunc computum liberatam, sicut continetur in quodam rotulo de particulis hic in thesaurum liberato.

Liberata bonorum et catallorum predictorum.

Idem computat liberasse Magistro Johanni Collis, Custodi Vestiarii Capelle domini Regis, infra hospicium suum in presencia Johannis Rothenale, Chiualer, Roberti Waterton, armigeri, et Johannis Burgh, armigeri, vnum vestimentum cum frontell et contrafrontell, j celur de veluet rubeo

[1] arithmetic. [2] checked. [3] left to his heir. [4] Blank in the original.

embraudata cum rosis auri, cum xvj capis de eadem secta, cum vna parura embraudata cum perles; vnum aliud vestimentum integrum cum frontell et contrafrontell et parura de motteley veluet albo rubeo et viridi, cum vj capis de eadem secta; vnum integrum vestimentum de albo panno auri, cum frontell et contrafrontell et parura operata ad modum vnius Burse, iiij capas de eadem secta[1], j frontell, contrafrontell et paruram de auro, rubeo et nigro, cum xij capis de eadem secta, x capas de baudekyn de eodem colore; vnum integrum vestimentum de albo damaske, cum frontell et contrafrontell et parura, et x capis de bocasyn de eodem colore, dupplicatis cum rubeo bokeram, cum j celur de albo Tarteryn pertinente eidem vestimento; vnum integrum vestimentum de blodio damask, orphreyed de motteley veluet, cum frontell et contrafrontell, et vj capis de eadem secta sine curteyns; vnum integrum vestimentum de rubeo baudekyn, vetus, sine parura et curteyns, cum vj capis de eodem colore, vnde j veluet; ij vestimenta simplicia, pro vno capellano, palith de diuersis coloribus, radiata cum auro, ij capas radiatas de rubeo tarteryn, iij capas radiatas de blodio tartaryn de auro, vnam capam de blodio tartaryn radiatam de auro, vnam capam de albo tartaryn cum garter., iij capas, vnam casulam de rubeo tartaryn verberatam cum armis, pro pueris, cum j tuniculo de eadem secta; vnum vestimentum simplex de veteri ragemas pro vno capellano; vnum vestimentum simplex de baudekyn albo pro vno capellano; vnum vestimentum simplex de albo tartaryn radiato, pro vno capellano; vnam capam de blodio ragemas, veterem; vnum apparatum vnius altaris cum vno vestimento simplici de veteri ragemas viridi; vnum vestimentum simplex de serico puppull, lineatum de Tartaryn de eodem colore; j touell; vnum apparatum pro vno altari de viridi serico; j touell; vnam paruram de blodio serico; j frontell et contrafrontell panni linei styneth; iij casys pro corperas veteres; v albas; v amittas cum parura de baudekyn nigro et rubeo; j tuniculum de eadem secta pro pueris; iij albas; iij amittas cum parura de albo panno auri pro pueris; iiij albas; iiij amittas cum parura de viridi ragemas pro pueris, veteres; vnum integrum vestimentum de nigro damask cum ij capis, cum frontell contrafrontell de satyn; iij albas; iij amittas cum parura de albo Tartaryn steyneth cum trefoill; j tuniculum et iij capas de eadem secta; ij albas; ij amittas cum parura de rubeo satyn embraud., pro pueris; vnum simplex vestimentum de baudekyn albo cum frontell contrafrontell et curteynes cum crucibus de rubeo; iij capas de simplici Tartaryn rubeo, et ij capas de blodio Tartaryn verberatas cum rosis, pro pueris; j capam de baudekyn albo, les orfreis de rubeo panno de auro, cum vno ceruo; vnum vestimentum de bustian albo cum frontell contrafrontell parura et curteyns; vnum aliud vestimentum de bustian albo cum frontell contrafrontell cum crucibus de rubeo; iij vestimenta de albo bustian absque vna casula et vno pari curteynes; j celour pro altari de simplici satyn rubeo et nigro palith; vnam capam, ij tuniculos, ij albas, ij amittas de veluet motteley albo rubeo et nigro; viij pannos auri blodios; xij pannos auri albos de baudekyn de iij sortibus; iij pannos auri albos de satyn operatos cum ceruis; vj pannos auri rubei et albi baudekyn de vna sorte; iij ragmas rubeas de diuersis sortibus, et ij de luces de eodem colore; iij ragemas de diuersis sortibus; iiij ragemas blodias de vna sorte; vnum integrum vestimentum panni auri album, cum frontell contrafrontell, puluerisatum cum volucribus, sine capis; . . . . . de Tartaryn; j dalmatic de eadem sorte; vnam casulam, vnam capam, j amittam, pro puero episcopo, de veluet rubeo embraudatas;[2] iiij magna Anthiphonaria, vnde primum incipit in secundo folio 'dree', secundum in secundo folio 'Cum Deo patre', tercium in secundo folio 'Chorus', quartum in secundo folio 'et bus'; iij parua Anthiphonaria, vnde primum incipit in secundo folio 'aspiciens', de vsu Ebor., secundum in secundo folio 'letemur', tercium in secundo folio 'vt letemur'; vnum martilogium de vsu Ebor. in secundo folio 'Indoti'; vnum missale, in secundo folio 'ffundus'; vnum vetus missale, in secundo folio 'Exita'; vnum missale de vsu Bangorensi, in secundo folio 'Clama'; vnum librum vocatum Gospeller, in secundo folio 'Vt'; et vnum alium, in secundo folio 'in medio'; j magnam Legendam temporalem, in secundo folio 'Iam'; j magnam legendam Sanctorum, in secundo folio 'Cuius'; j inte-

[1] These vestments and copes were bequeathed to the High Altar at York Minster.
[2] Bequeathed to York Minster.

gram legendam, in secundo folio 'Conuentus'; vj gradalia, vnde primum incipit in secundo folio 'dicto', secundum in secundo folio 'fundatur', iij in secundo folio 'Giliis', quartum in secundo folio 'venerit', quintum in secundo folio 'niger', sextum in secundo folio 'Tes'; vnum colectare, in secundo folio 'Credo'; iij Ordinalia, vnde primum incipit in secundo folio 'similiter', secundum in secundo folio 'beate', tercium in secundo folio 'vel sic'; ij Jornalia pro missa beate Marie, vnde primum incipit in secundo folio 'Cum', secundum in secundo folio 'Pasche'; vnum Inuitatorium, in secundo folio 'et folio'; iiij magna processionaria; xiiij parua processionaria; j manuale, in secundo folio 'Pugnas'; vnum librum de vita Sancte Brigid; vnum librum pro missa et matutinis de sancto Johanne Bridlyngton; et vnum librum vocatum Genesis scriptum in Gallicis. Contenta in vj cistis predictarum xij cistarum et standardes superius receptas per breue Regis H. quinti de priuato sigillo suo datum xv° die Januarii dicto anno tercio, prefato Ricardo directum et super hunc computum liberatum Per quod breue Rex mandauit prefato Ricardo Knyghteley quod bona, iocalia et apparatus, que fuerunt predicti Henrici nuper domini lescrop, qui versus dominum Regem forisfecit, per dictum Ricardum nuper Rec[ordatorem] ad opus domini Regis de prefato Roberto Waterton, Constabulario Castri Regis de Pounfret, liberari faciat, ad opus domini Regis, personis subscriptis, modo subscripto, videlicet vestimenta et ornamenta ecclesie prefato magistro Collys, Custodi vestiarii domini Regis infra hospicium suum, Jocalia Auri et Argenti Thome Chiterne, Custodi iocalium domini Regis, pannos de Aras, lectos et alias res pertinentes Garderobe Johanni Bawdekyn, Custodi lectorum Regis apud Westmonasterium, faciendo inde indenturas inter ipsum Ricardum et quemlibet dictarum personarum, parcellas et res quas predictus Ricardus sic liberauit testificantes, per quas quidem Indenturas et istud breue Rex vult quod idem Ricardus versus Regem quietus et exoneratus existat, et per indenturam inde inter prefatum Magistrum Johannem Collis et Ricardum Knyghteley factam xx° die Januarii anno tercio, liberacionem vestimentorum et aliarum rerum predictarum testificantem, super hunc computum liberatam, sicut continetur in dicto Rotulo de particulis. De quibus quidem vestimentis et aliis rebus predictis per prefatum Magistrum Collys, vt premittitur, receptas, idem Magister Johannes Collys debet respondere. Et respice infra.

Et computat liberasse domino Regi per manus Thome Chitterne, Custodis iocalium domini Regis, per indenturam inter dictum Ricardum Knyghteley et Thomam Chitterne inde factam, xx° die Januarii dicto anno tercio, in presencia Johannis Rothenale, Chiualer, Johannis Waterton, armigeri, et Johannis Burgh, iocalia Auri et Argenti in dicta indentura modo et forma subscriptis contenta, videlicet:—

En primes vn cercule dor, le founce de xx ouerages, dount x faitz chascun all maner dun esquar nouche garnis en mylieu dun baleis et enuiron le bordure de xij petites perles, les ditz autres ouerages chascun garniz en mylieu dun rouge garnade et enuiron le bordure de iiij petites saphirs ouec x florons, chascun fait al maner dun flour de lice, chascun garnis en mylieu dun esmerade, iiij rouges garnades et de vij petites perles, en tout poysant ensemble xvij vnc. vn quarteron et xix. d. dor. Vn grande tabernacle dor, fait al maner dun pite, esmailes blanke, ouec iij angelis sur le pee, dunt vn ad j launce, lautre le piler, et le tierce vn palme, et ij autres angelx, chascun ad vn scourge en sa mayn, et paramount vn crois garnis de xxiiij perles dun sorte et de xxx autres perles dautre sorte, poisant de troie vj libr. ix. vnc. di. et xx. d. dor. Vn crois dargent ennorres, esteaunt sur un bas pee, parcelles enamailles ouec vn crucifix Marie et Johan, poisant de troie xiij lb. Vn crois dargent ennorres parcelles, ouec vn ymage de nostre dame sur le pee, ouec vn crucifix Marie et Johan et deux larones appelles Dismas et Gesmas, poisant de troie xj lb. viij vnc. Vn autre crois dargent enorres, ouec un birill sur le pee, oue vn crucifix Marie et Johan, poisant de troie x lb. iiij vnc. Vn autre petit crois dargent enorres ouec vn ymage de Seint Johan Baptiste ouec vn crucifix Marie et Johan, poisant de troie j lb. vj vnc. j quarteron. Vn petit crois dargent ennorres esteaunt sur vn bas pee de iiij leones ouec vn crucifix Marie et Johan et ouec vn ymage de Seint Katerine sur le pee, poisant de troie ij lb.

ij vnc. Vn tabernacle dargent ennorres, squar ouec iiij berilles, esteaunt sur vn pee, fait al maner dun Tour ouec iiij Angelx a les corners, tout est de iiij peces, poisant de troie x lb. ij vnc. di. Vn tabelet dargent ennorres de la Salutacion de nostre Dame et de la passion nostre Seignur Jhesu crist, enamailles dasure, poisant de troie xv vnc. di. Vn tabelet dargent ennorres, pounsones, ouec vn crucifix Marie et Johan, Petre et Poule dedeins, ouec ij angelx paramount, poisant de troie ix vnc. iij quarteron.[1] Vn tabelet dargent ennorres, fait all maner dun trefoill, ouec diuerses reliques, et paramount ouec vn rounde berill, ouec les osses de Seint Johan Beuerley, poisant de troie xx. vnc. di. Vn berill dargent ennorres, ouec vn osse de Seint Ewun, et paramount vn crucifix, poisant ensemble vj vnc. iij quarteron. Vn autre berill rumpuz, esteaunt sur vn pee dargent ennorres et pounsones, ouec reliques, poisant de troie xiiij vnc. j quarteron. Vn autre berill esteaunt sur vn pee dargent ennorres, graues de diuerses ouerages, garnis paramount de iiij petites perles, poisant viij vnc. di. Vn autre berill esteaunt sur iiij leones, fait all maner dun botell, rumpus, ouec ij leones paramount, et ouec diuerses reliques, poisant xiij vnc. Vn ymage del resurreccion, esteaunt sur vn bas pee dargent ennorres et enamailles, ouec vn crois et vn fane, et dedeins le fane vn pece de la seint crois, poisant de troie iiij lb. viij vnc. Vn ymage de nostre dame tenent son fitz en la mayn dextre et en la mayn senestre vn braunche dun lilie, poisant de troie iij lb. ix vnc. Vn ymage de Seint Gabriell dargent ennorres, garnis enuiron le pee des flours dasure, poisant de troie v lb. xj vnc. di. Vn ymage de Seint Johan Baptiste, esteaunt sur vn bas pee de iij leones, portant vn Nouche en son pys de Agnus dei, poisant vj lb. di. Vn paxbred dargent ennorres, graues dedeins dun crucifix Marie et Johan, poisant de troie x. vnc. Vn coupe dargent ennorres pur le sacrement, oue vn canap. dargent ennorres ouec vn rounde bolle et vn crucifix paramount, poisant ensemble ij lb. vij vnc. di. Vn haut berill ouec reliques, garniz dargent ennorres, esteaunt sur vn bas pee dargent ennorres, ouec le Somet de mesme louerayne[2], oueres des roundes knoppes de vert et dasure et reliques, poisant ensemble de troie iij lb. iiij vnc. Vn Nief dargent ennorres, ouec ij ymages dassumpcion et vn Angell a deuaunt, poisant de troie j lb. viij vnc. di. Vn autre Nief dargent ennorres pounsones des foilles et flours, poisant de troie x. vnc. Vn baton dargent ennorres de v peces et iiij bolles et stampuz, pur vn crois portatif, poisant de troie v lb. x. vnc. iij quarteron. ij Sensers dargent ennorres, les Cheynes blancz, poisant ensemble vij lb. di. ij autres Sensers dargent ennorres, veilles, les chaines parcelles, rompuz, poisant ensemble v lb. iiij vnc. Vn autre paire dez chaundelers pur le chapell dargent, nouelles, poisant de troie vj lb. Vn autre paire de Chaundelers dargent ennorres parcelles, poisant ensemble iij lb. xj vnc. ij autres gros Chaundelers dargent ennorres parcelles, esteauntz sur pees dargent ouec Angelys et sur les pees lilies, dount faut del vn chaundeler vn bolle ouec vn pike, et de lautre faut le pike, poisant ensemble xiij lb. ix vnc. ij veilles Chalis dargent, rumpuz, ouec ij cruettes et vn sonet, poisant ensemble iij lb. v vnc. j quart. Vn vessell dargent ennorres pur lewe benoit, ouec le springell, poisaunt ensemble iij lb. viij vnc. Vn petit paire basynes dargent ennorres parcelles, poisaunt ensemble ij lb. x vnc. di. ij Hautes Salers dargent ennorres et graues ouec testes de femmes enuiron le couercle, saunz topettes, poisaunt ensemble viij lb. Vn veille Saler dargent ennorres et graues, esteaunt sur iij iambus, poisant de troie j lb. v vnc. Vn squar Saler dargent ennorres, coueres, poisant de troie xxxiiij vnc. di. Vn rounde Saler dargent ennorres parcelles et chaces, ouec ij auters roundes Salers dautre sort ouec leur couercles, et ouec vn squar Saler dargent ennorres parcelles ouec le couercle, dount iij sount rumpus, poisant de troie xlviij vnc. xvj Coelers dargent, poisaunt de troie j lb. j vnc. ij Chaundelers dargent enorres parcelles, poisant ensemble iij lb. iij vnc. Vn autre Chaundeler dargent enorres parcelles, esteauntz sur iij debelettes, poisant de troie j lb. j vnc. Vn autre bas Chaundeler dargent, lez swages ennorres, ouec vn nose, poisant de troie x vnc. di. Vn veille pouderbox

[1] Bequeathed to the High Altar at York.
[2] l'ouverayne = ouvrage.

dargent ennorres parcelles, poisant de troie vj vnc. iij quarteron. Vn graund flaskette[1] dargent ennorres et chaces dun scalop, ouec vn leon sur le topet de stoppell, poisant de troie xxxiiij lb. vij vnc. Vn autre graund flaskette de mesme sort, poisant xxx lb. v vnc. di. ij Gross pottes ialoners[2] dargent ennorres, dune sort playn, poisaunt ensemble de troie xij lb. viij vnc. ij auters pottes ialoners dargent ennorres, des auters sortes, plain, poisant ensemble x lb. vij vnc. di. ij auters pottes potellers[3] dargent ennorres, dount lune graues et lautre plain, poisant ensemble vij lb. iij vnc. ij Pottes ialoners dargent ennorres parcelles dune sort, poisant ensemble xj lb. j vnc. v Pottes potellers dargent ennorres parcelles dune sort, poisant ensemble xx lb. faut di vnc. ij Pottes potellers dargent plain dune sort, poisant ensemble v lb. iiij vnc. di. Vn hanap dor chaces et graues enuiron le couercle dune traile dez foilles et paramount vn blank floure, poisant de troie j lb. di. iij quarteron del vnc. Vn autre coupe dor del faisure de Paris ouec j petit topet paramount, poisant de troie j lb. iiij vnc. iij quart. vj Bolles dor sanx couercles, esteauntz sur bas pees, poisant ensemble de troie ix lb. v vnc. iij quart. vj Bolles dargent ennorres saunz couercles, esteauntz sur bas pees, chascun ouec vn enamaille de 'Soubueniez de moy' en le ffounce, poisant ensemble x lb. iiij vnc. Vn haut coupe dargent ennorres ouec vn haut boton et vn bas pee enamailles dasure de diuerses ozeux et bestes, sur le sommet vn leon, poisant viij lb. ix vnc. Vn haut coupe dargent ennorres, esteaunt sur vn haute pee dune baton, fait all maner dune chalis, ouec vn enamaill sur le topet, poisant ij lb. v. vnc. di. Vn autre haut coupe dargent ennorres, fait all maner dune coupe pur le corps de nostre seignur Jhesu Crist, ouec xij floures enamailles dasure, chascun de iij foilles, le topet rumpe, poisant iij lb. Vn autre hanap dargent ennorres, chaces et graues dune reson 'A bon estreme', ouec vn blanke coke paramount, poisant iij lb. Vn haut coupe dargent ennorres esteants sur iij leones ouec vn vert enamaill sur le topet de vij testis dez debelettes, poisant de troie iij lb. ij vnc. di. Vn Hanap dargent ennorres, esteauntz sur iij debles, graues enuiron le couercle et couere des foilles des keynes[4] et faut le topet poisant ij lb. ij vnc. di. j quart. j Hanap dargent ennorres, grauez sur le pee des frettes et enuiron le corps de diuerses foilles, et enuiron le couercle vn cercule fait des floures de lice et de testes de leopardes, saunt son topet, poisaunt de troie ij lb. di. Vn hanap dargent ennorres, fait al maner dune sonet, pounsonez des foilles et trailles et des ozeux sur le couercle, ouec vn flat topet, poisant j lb. viij vnc. Vn hanap dargent ennorres pounsones de trailles et iiij foilles, ouec vn rounde topet paramount, poisant de troie j lb. xj vnc. j quarteron. Vn hanap dargent ennorres, chaces et pounsones parcelles et le couercle dargent chaces, et ennorres dehors et blanke dedeins, poisant ensemble j lb. iij vnc. di. iiij Gobelettes dargent ennorres, dount iij graues de diuerses ouerages, et le quarte chaces al maner dune Wynde[5], chascun esteaunt sur iiij leones, poisant iij lb. x vnc. di., dount ij poisant ensemble xvj vnc. di. Vn hanap dargent ennorres dehors, chaces, et blanke dedeins, ouec les armes de Seignur de lescrop sur le topet, poisant j lb. j vnc. Vn hanap dargent ennorres, chaces dune double rose ouec vn rose sur le topet, poisant de troie j lb. j vnc. j Hanap dargent ennorres dehors et blanke dedeins, et pounsones de diuerses tailles[6] et foilles de holyn, oue j topet fait al maner dune nose dune Chaundeler, poisant de troie xij vnc. iij quart. Vn bas hanap dargent ennorres, fait al maner costard, chaces dune rose ouec les armes lescrop, ouec labelles sur le topet, poisant j lb. ij vnc. iij quart. Vn haut hanap dargent ennorres, saunz couercle, chaces dune double rose, poisant de troie x vnc. Vn petit veill bas hanap dargent ennorrez plain, ouec vn rounde knoppe, poisant de troie j lb. viij vnc. di. Vn bolle dargent ouec vn flat topet, poisant de troie ij lb. xj vnc. di. Vn bolle dargent ouec vn rounde knoppe, poisant de troie iij lb. ij vnc. di. ij Bas hanaps dargent coueres, poisant

[1] See p. 77, above.
[2] Galloners, holding a gallon.
[3] Holding a pottle or half-gallon.
[4] *sc.* oaks.
[5] Compare 'un coupe d'or chacez d'un Wynde' in the inventory of Henry V, *ap. Rolls of Parlt.* iv, 216.
[6] Perhaps 'trailles' as elsewhere.

ensemble iij lb. iiij vnc. ij Bas hanaps dargent saunz couercles, poisant ensemble ij lb. x vnc. iij quart. iij Petitz gobelettes de diuerses sortes, ouec vn petit couercle, poisant ensemble j lb. j quart. del vnc. v Ewers dargent ennorres, lune graues enuiron le corps dune reson 'Pur lamour soit done', le seconde escrit enuiron le corps 'Que nad plesaunce nad riens', le tierce graues de diuerses foilles dew[1], et le quarte pounsones des lettres de grew[2] enuiron le corps de foilles de holyn, et le quinte graues dune traille oue vn ffaucon paramount, poisant tout ensemble v lb. v vnc. Vn Ewer rounde, ouec iij spoutes, dargent, ouec vn couercle dune Saler dargent ennorres parcelles, poisant ensemble . . . vnc. Vn paire de basynes dargent ennorres, enamailles en le founce des leones, poisant ensemble viij lb. vj vnc. di. ij Basynes dargent ennorres parcelles, ouec les armes de la femme del Seignur de Masseham, poisant de troie vj lb. viij vnc. di. Vn veill basyn dargent plain, ouec les armes lescrop en le founce oue labelles, poisant de troie iiij lb. j vnc. j Autre basyn dargent ennorres parcelles, graues dune estoile en le founce et conynges, ouec les armes de Counte de Northfolk, poisaunt vj lb. x vnc. iij Ewers dargent plain, dune sort, dount lune ouec vn cerf sur le couercle, le seconde ouec les armes lescrop, le tierce tout plain, poisaunt ensemble iij lb. xj vnc. Vn Nief dargent ennorres, saunz pee, ouec j leon a chascun fyn, ouec ix phanes des armes lescrop, poisaunt ensemble xv lb. v vnc. ij Espiceplates, dargent ennorres parcelles, chascun ouec les armes de Wylughby, poisaunt ensemble v lb. di. vnc. Vn autre Espiceplate dargent ennorres ouec les armes de William Wikham levesque de Wyncestre, poisaunt ij lb. ij vnc. di. Et iij chargeres ouec vj petitz disshes et viij saucers dargent, poisaunt ensemble viij lb. ij vnc. Que quidem iocalia auri et argenti contenta fuerunt in sex cistis predictarum cistarum et standards [et ij] skipettes per predictum [Ricardum][3] Knyghtley superius receptarum, et que postea per dictum Ricardum liberata fuerunt prefato Thome Chitterne, Custodi iocalium Regis, in presencia Johannis Rothenale, chiualer, Johannis Waterton, armigeri, et Johannis Burgh, armigeri, per predictum breue Regis de priuato sigillo, datum xv° die Januarii anno tercio, eidem Ricardo directum et in vltima particula predicta plenius annotatum, et per predictam indenturam inter dictos Ricardum Knyghtle et Thomam Chitterne inde factam, liberacionem iocalium predictorum testificantem, et superius in principio huius particule annotatam, sicut continetur in dicto rotulo de particulis. De quibus quidem iocalibus auri et argenti per ipsum Thomam vt premittitur, receptis, idem Thomas debet respondere. Et respice.

Et computat liberasse Johanni Baudekyn, Custodi lectorum domini Regis, infra palacium suum Westm. in presencia Johannis Rothenale, chiualer, Johannis Waterton, armigeri, et Johannis Burgh, j tablemeyne de ebore[4], j magnum coster de Aras sine auro [*The list of articles belonging to the Wardrobe as delivered to John Baudekyn is then given—with some variation of order—in accordance with Knyghteley's list of the same goods as received by him, ending* peautre coopertum, *and then continuing*] vnam cistam quadratam et strictam de robustis tabulis cum torches et torteys, j coster de albo Worsted cum armis lescrop infra j Garter, per predictum breue Regis de priuato sigillo suo superius allegatum, et per Indenturam per dictum Ricardum Knyghtley et Johannem Bawdekyn inde factam, liberacionem dictorum pannorum de Aras lectorum et aliarum rerum pertinencium Garderobe testificantem, et super hunc computum liberatam, sicut continetur in dicto Rotulo de particulis. De quibus quidem pannis de Arras, lectis et aliis rebus per predictum Johannem Baudekyn, vt premittitur, receptis idem Iohannes debet respondere. Et respice.

Idem reddit computum de v. s. per ipsum receptis de precio duarum cistarum sic venditarum, sicut supra continetur inter Receptam bonorum et catallorum predictorum, sicut continetur in dicto Rotulo de particulis. Recepta Denariorum.

Summa Recepte denariorum v. s. Et respice in Rotulo iiij^to in Stafford.

Magister Iohannes Colles, Custos vestiarii domini Regis Henrici quinti, infra hospicium

[1] Probably for 'def' or 'de ef', meaning 'of ivy'.
[2] i. e. Greek.
[3] From this point onwards it is written 'in dorso'.
[4] See pp. 91–2, above.

suum [1] de diuersis vestimentis et ornamentis ecclesie, que fuerunt Henrici lescrop, chiualer, qui versus Regem forisfecit, per predictum Magistrum Iohannem Collis receptis per Indenturam sicut supra continetur.

[Similar certificates follow on behalf of Chitterne and Baudekyn.]

III. THOMAS BROKET'S ACCOUNT

From *Wardrobe Accounts.* Enrolments. Exchequer (L. T. R.), Roll 6, m.m. 9, 10.

Et de j coopertorio veteri; j tester cum di. celur de Baldekyn; iij Curtyns de Tartarin paliato nigro et rubeo; j Tester cum j Celur de Baldekyn paliato blodio et rubeo; iij Curtyns de Tartarin viridi, aliter vocato Taffata viridi; ij Quissins de damask blodio; j long Quissin de damask conc.; iiij Quissins de Baldekin rubeo et albo; vj Quissins de panno adaurato de Cipre champane blodio; j Quissin de Tartarin glauco; j capa de panno adaurato de Cipre champane viridi cum offrey de Jesse; j capa de panno adaurato de Cipre puluerizato cum rosis rubeis et nigris; j capa de damasc albo; j capa de veluet super Satyn motle rubeo puluerizato cum floribus viridibus et albis; j capa de panno adaurato de Cipre albo, orffray de Jesse; j capa de panno adaurato de Cipre albo, orfray de veluet motle blodio; j capa de veluet rubeo; j capa de panno adaurato de cipre rubeo, orfray de veluet blodio; ij capis de veluet motle rubeo et nigro, de vna secta; v capis de panno adaurato de Lukes albo; j panno adaurato de Lukes veteri, continente iij vlnas j quart.; j panno serico rubeo et albo, continente iiij vlnas di.; ij vlnis di. panni adaurati de Lukes blodio; j remanent de Cameraka blodia et alba, continente ij vlnas di.; j panno adaurato de Lukes partito rubeo et viridi, continente iij vlnas iij quart.; j panno adaurato de Cipre blodio, continente iiij vlnas iij quart.; j panno adaurato de Cipre champane albo, continente ij vlnas di.; j Crucifix operato in brouder misso super j pecia de veluet rubeo continente j vlnam; j Goune de veluet motle; j coopertorio veteri cum j Tester et j Celur de serico partito rubeo et blodio, operato in brouder cum rosis; ij Curtyns, vnde j de glauco et alter de tauny de Tartarin; j Curtyn de Tartarin blodio; j capa de panno serico glauco; j Goune de veluet nigro; j panno adaurato de Lukes, continente iij vlnas; j Coffre de cupro deaurato cum certis rebus billatis ad modum Reliquarii; j paruo Coffre viridi cum iij paribus paternosters de auro, vnde ij paria de lx aues, et vj paternosters et j knop de paruo perle, et j par continens xxxv aues, et iiij paternosters, j par paternosters de aumbre cum crucifix argenti deaurati, j Broche cum j tablet de auro, ponderis iiij vnc. et xvij dz.; j paruo Coffre cum diuersis rebus incognitis et modici valoris; lviij Garteriis de liberata sancti Georgii de serico et auro; j Couerchieff pro j coopertorio vnius lecti, furrato cum meneuer; j jak de defence de veluet partito rubeo et blodio; iiij masers, de quibus j est coopertum; j superaltare; j tablet pro j altare; j Garnimento vocato j aube; ij dalmatikes de panno ad aurum de Lukes albo; j autercloth cum j frontell de panno adaurato de cipre albo de popynyays; j frontell veteri pro vno altare, de veluet motle rubeo et nigro; ij lynynges de Tartarin, videlicet j de colore viridi et alter de colore nigro; j vestamento singulo, continente j stole et j fanon cum iij aubes et iij amictis siue tuniclis; iij Curtyns de tartarin viridi; j vestamento singulo de veluet motle rubeo et viridi cum ij aubes pro eodem; j Chesible de damasc. blodio; j aube et j amicto pro eodem vestamento; j panno de Tartarin albo, vapulato cum stellis, continente iij vlnas et j quart.; j Celur cum j reredos; j frounte et ij curtyns de Tartarin viridi pro j altare; j reredos cum j frount et ij curtyns de Tartarin viridi radiato; j frontell cum j frount et j reredos de panno lineo pro tempore quadragesimali; j pare lintheaminum de tela linea Champane, quodlibet lintheamen de iij telis latitudine; j hedeschete de tela linea Champane de ij telis latitudine; v paria lintheaminum, quodlibet lintheamen de ij telis

[1] Blank in MS.

latitudine; j panno adaurato de Cipre albo, continente iiij vlnas di.; j Bible; j libro vocato Beda de gestes Anglie; j libro vocato de Sermonibus Dominicalibus; j Tablet de yvory quassato; j Tablet de plate argent, infra deauratum cum j ymagine de la Petee; j Tablet de Salutacione sancte Marie; xij vlnis tele line flandrensis; j psalterio glossato. Receptis de Thoma Broket de bonis nuper domini lescrop per Indenturam, sicut continebatur in dicto primo libro de particulis.

IV. THE GOODS OF RICHARD GURMYN

The Inquisition on the forfeited goods of Richard Gurmyn was held in London in October, 1415, before Thomas Fauconer, the mayor, and is now preserved in *Escheator's File* 1067/4. As in the other Inquisitions, only the finding of the Jury is here printed.

Dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Ricardus Gurmyn de London, Baker, qui convictus fuit de haeresibus et erroribus coram Ricardo Clyfford, episcopo London. et aliorum (*sic*) tunc ibidem presentibus die Sabbati in vigilia Natiuitatis beate Marie dicto anno tercio, et postea die Lune tunc proximo sequente, virtute breuis dicti domini Regis Johanni Michell et Thome Aleyn, vicecomitibus dicte ciuitatis, directi, predictus Ricardus Gurmyn combustus fuit in Smythfelde, habuit bona et catalla subscripta: Videlicet; vn dagger, pris vj s. Item, vn baslarde harnese, pris xiij s. iiij d. Item, vn altre baslard, pris viij s. Item, vn Coffyn, pris j d. Item, vn girdille harnese, pris xvj s. viij d. Item, vn maser, pris xx s. Item, ij masers, pris xiiij s. viij d. Item, vn girdille de quire harnese ou argent, pris iij s. Item, en money, xiij s. iiij d. Item, ij pecez dargent couerez et xviij Quillers, poise xliij vnc., pris vnc. ij s. iiij d.: Summa, C. s. iiij d. Item, xij paire lintheux, pris paire lun ouesque lautre, ij s. vj d.: Summa, xxx s. Item, vn Towaille, pris xvj d. Item, vn towaille pris vj d. Item, vn Towaille, pris ij d. Item, ij Bordeclothes, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, vn Bordecloth, pris iij s. iiij d. Item vn Bordecloth, pris ij s. Item, vn Bordecloth, pris xvj d. Item, vn paire Bellows, j d. Item, vn gosepanne, pris iiij d. Item, ij Costers Rouge et noire, pris iiij d. Item, vn fetherbed et vn bolster pris viij s. Item, iij Pillowes, pris vj d. Item vn daggeswayn, pris ij s. Item, vn dowbelet de Wosted, pris ij s. Item, vn hanselet de ffustian, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, vn dobelet de defense, pris v s. Item, j veill ffurre de Gray, pris xij d. Item, vn gowne de mustervyllers, pris ij s. vj d. Item, vn Couerlet et vn Testour veill, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, vn Couerlet, pris ij s. Item, vn lete de Worsted enbrowded, pris xiij s. iiij d. Item, vn gowne de Scarlet, pris x s. Item, ij Chaperons, pris xij d. Item, vn gowne de vert furre, pris xiij s. iiij d. Item, vn gowne de lyre furre ou Buggee, pris xiij s. iiij d. Item, vn cloke de vert drap. pris v s. Item, vn cloke de Russet, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, vn pylche, pris ij s. Item, vn Couerlet et j Testour, pris v. s. Item, iij Curteens et remenauntes de card, pris iij s. iiij d. Item, ij Bankers, vj Quischons, pris v s. Item vn materas, xij d. Item, vn ffethirbed, pris iiij s. Item, C. et di. quart. lb.[1] de pewter, pris lb. ij d.; Summa, xviij s. ix d. Item, xxix lb. de laton, pris lb. iij d.; Summa vij s. iij d. Item, ij Chestes, iij s. Item, ij Calvis-skynnis, pris iij d. Item, xxj Ston. de lane, pris le Ston xx. d.; Summa, xxxv s. Item, vn dowbelet de ffustian, pris xvj d. Item, ij blankettes, pris viij d. Item, j paire lintheux de Canvas, pris vj d. Item, vn Tabeler, pris ij d. Item, vn petit braspan, pris ij d. Item, j frying panne, pris viij d. Item, iij Spites de ferr, pris vj d. Item, ij Cobardes de ferr, pris vj d. Item, j Sawe, pris iiij d. Item, vn hache, pris ij d. Item, vn Awger, pris iiij d. Item, vn Spruse ferser[2], pris vj d. Item, vn gridirin, pris iij d. Item, vn Trevet, pris iij d. Item, Joynid Stole, pris iij d. Item, vn veill panne de bras, pris ij d. Item, vn launce, pris iiij d. Item, vn Chaiere, pris vj d. Item, vn Adise, pris ij d. Item, vn fote pur vn Rownde table, pris j d. Item, j Presseborde, pris iij d. Item, vn paire Trestell, pris iij d. Item, iiij Tillers pur Crossebowes, pris xvj d. Item, vn paire beddebordes, pris vj d.

[1] i.e. 112½ lb.

[2] 'Spruesfocer' in Accounts.

Item, vn Wrytyng bord, pris j d. Item, xj Trenchours et j Garlek morter ouesque vn pestill et ij petites treies, pris ij d. Item, ij forsers ouesque diuers Trash, pris ij d. Item, vn obligacion de vn Thomas Clerc de Croydon de lij s. viij d. Item, vn autre obligacion de vn John Blakburne super Humbre obliges a dit Richard Gurmyn et a Agnes Hert, Baker, de xl. li. par condicion fait par endentoure. Item, vn obligacion de vn Roese, latoner, de xviij s. Item, vn obligacion de vn John Grype, Schipman, obligez a vn Margaret Caylley en xl. li. Item, vn debentur de Garderobe le Roy Henri, piere nostre syr le Roy qore est, de computis Thomas Tutbury de xl. s. Item, vn obligacion de John Grype obligiez a dit Richard Gurmyn en iiij^{xx} li. Que quidem bona et catalla ac obligaciones ad manus Johannis Michell et Thome Aleyn, vicecomitum dicte ciuitatis, deuenerunt. In cuius rei testimonium Juratores predicti sigilla sua apposuerunt. Data London. die et anno supradicto.

IV.—*The British Museum Excavations at Abu Shahrain in Mesopotamia in 1918.* *By* R. Campbell Thompson, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A., formerly Captain, S.S.O., Intelligence G.H.Q., Mesopotamia.*

Read 30th January 1919.

In March 1918, after the end of my third year of service with the Intelligence of G.H.Q. Staff in Mesopotamia, I was ordered through the War Office to explore archaeologically the region south and south-east of Nasiriyah on the Euphrates on behalf of the British Museum. This district, which lies south of the broad Euphrates marshes, includes several ancient mounds, of which three are of great interest, Abu Shahrain (the ancient Eridu), Muqaiyar (Ur of the Chaldees), and Tell el-Lahm. Previous excavations had been made in this district by J. E. Taylor in the middle of the last century, and described by him,[1] but now that these ancient lands had come within our jurisdiction, the British Museum wished to set further exploration afoot with the possible view of larger undertakings.[2]

At the time when this order from the War Office reached Baghdad, the stress of war had diminished and passed far north of that city, and Brigadier-General W. H. Beach, under whom I had worked for nearly three years, sent me to carry out the instructions for exploration. As the archaeological control was in the hands of the Civil Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, I came under his general directions, and it was settled that the district south and south-east of Nasiriyah should be explored and, if possible, excavations should be begun in the traditionally ancient site of Abu Shahrain, which has always exercised so much fascination on the minds of Assyriologists. Captain (now Colonel Sir) A. T. Wilson, Deputy Civil Commissioner, began negotiations with Hamud, the shaikh of the Dhafir in whose territory Abu Shahrain lies, and I left Baghdad for Basrah on 16th March 1918. From Basrah, after much assistance from Colonel Howell, assistant political officer, I went on to Nasiriyah,

[1] 'Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer,' a paper by Taylor in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv, 1855, pp. 260–76; 'Notes on Abu Shahrein and Tel el Lahm,' *ibid.*, pp. 404–15.

[2] I am greatly indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing me to publish the results of this expedition, and would here gratefully express my thanks to them and to Sir Frederic Kenyon, K.C.B., D.Litt., the Director of the British Museum.

where Major Dickson, also an assistant political officer, offered me hospitality until arrangements could be completed for the work to start.

News came from Hamud that he was sending me a party of Arabs to dig under his own son at Abu Shahrain. In the meanwhile until his arrival I proposed to visit Abu Shahrain and also make a short tour[1] of the ancient mounds within reach of Nasiriyah, using the railway as much as possible. These were Tell Tuwaiyil, Murajib, Abu Rasain, an unnamed mound between Murajib station and Abu Rasain, Tell el-Lahm, Tell el-Jabarah, Tell Judaidah and Tell Muqaiyar. All these were well within the 'protected area' of Nasiriyah;

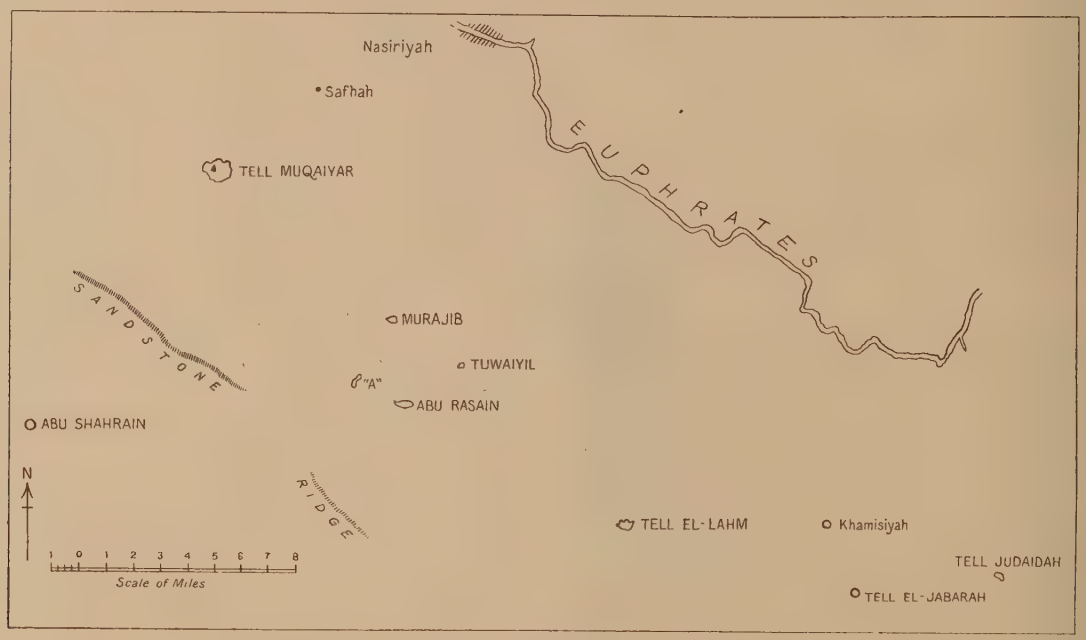


Fig. 1. Sketch-map of the Nasiriyah—Abu Shahrain district.

Abu Shahrain was a different matter, at any rate, in this time of war, and local opinion in Nasiriyah was not sanguine about excavations being possible. It lay far out in the desert, twenty miles' crowfly from Nasiriyah (where lay the nearest mobile troops), and outside the 'protected area', and the nearest military post of any kind was a handful of Indian troops ten miles distant. General R. Lock, who furthered the plans for excavation with the greatest help and sympathy, had been over the district in question, and was doubtful about the possibility of obtaining water, labour, and a proper guard. All that I could gather for certain about the place was that there would be difficulty in obtaining water, food, fuel, and fodder for a camp.

[1] See Appendix V and fig. 1.

However, before Hamud's party arrived I rode down on a flying visit to the mound to see it myself, and then opened some test-trenches in the mound of Muqaiyar, the results of which will be found on p. 138.

Abu Shahrain.

A week later Hamud arrived with his party, and I, my soldier-servant Thomas Higgins of the Connaught Rangers (one of those described by the Kaiser as 'the contemptible army'), Hamud, and fifty Arabs (Dhafir and Zaiyad), set out for Abu Shahrain on the 9th of April. Hamud had the makings of a humorist in him, as he divulged only when we were well away on our journey that the twenty-five Arabs acting as 'guards' had only fourteen rifles with them, and that there were 400 of the Bedur (no friends of his) twelve miles distant from Abu Shahrain.

South-westwards from Nasiriyah towards the ruins of Ur cultivation extends for six miles over the flat lands which are partly liable to flood in the spring. From this point begins the desert, the way to Abu Shahrain lying past the great mound of Ur, two or three miles distant from the nearest crops, and, scattered in this area, especially to the south-east, over a tract of thirty-five miles, is a series of smaller mounds, the most notable to the south-east being Tell el-Lahm.[1]

From Ur the direction lies south-west for twelve miles, and the desert begins to slope upwards slightly and very gradually. It is a waste, part sand, part alluvial soil, whereon in spring blow irises in sparse clusters. Rarely one meets with patches of clay strewn with freshwater mussels (*Unio cf. tumidus*, Retzius); elsewhere the desert is covered with countless little freshwater spirals (*Melania tuberculata*, Müller).

The mound of Abu Shahrain, roughly 1,100 yards in perimeter, rises abruptly from the levels. In plan it is rectangular, the corners towards the cardinal points, a usual method of orientation in Sumerian buildings, and we must postulate, therefore, the same method in vogue among its original founders. The general appearance from the desert is of a flat, low mass of brown earth, with steep sides rising to nearly forty feet, the crest appearing at a distance to maintain an almost unbroken level, except that at the north are the remains of a lofty *zigurrat*, now whittled down by the rains to a sharp peak, piercing the sky like a dagger some forty feet higher above the line of the even crest of the mound which forms a terrace to it. But on approaching the mound one sees the rough lumps of limestone or sandstone which still buttress its sides, part

[1] After my return home my friend, Dr. H. R. Hall, was sent out by the British Museum to Mesopotamia and made such notable discoveries at El-'Ubaid, near Ur, that Tell el-Lahm fades into insignificance by comparison.

in their ancient place, part scattered about in disorder, especially near the *zigurrat*, while the surface is strewn with coarse plain pottery and burnt bricks fallen from the tower, but there are no coins or pieces of glazed Parthian

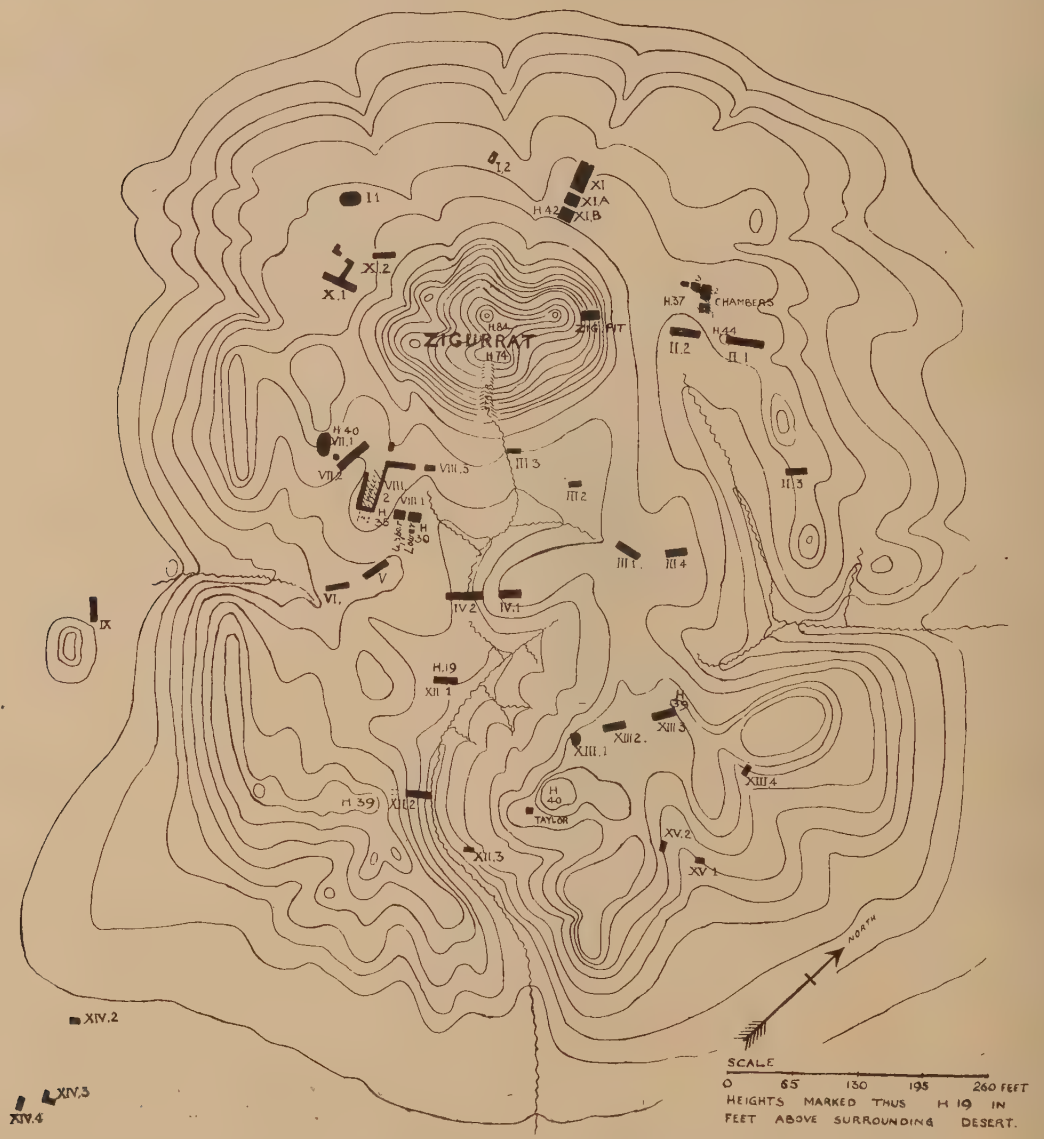


Fig. 2. Plane-table map of the Ancient Mound of Abu Shahrain (Eridu). The trenches are marked in black. (XIV, 1 should be added at 104 feet, 333° from W. corner of XIV, 2.)

pottery to indicate late occupation. The limestone walling of the exterior slopes, which Taylor was the first to excavate, is unusual in Babylonia (see pl. V, D). The mound has practically become a basin; the interior, for the most part, having consisted of buildings of unbaked brick, has melted into formless clay under the

torrential rains which pour down during the winter. The temple tower, playing the part of a small mountain at the upper end, has conducted the rushing waters down its slopes, which have easily gnawed channels both in the mass of disintegrating brickwork of the houses on the mound, and in the windborne sand which settles in every cranny and near every wall, and have found their way to the three gates, which mark the middle of the north-east, south-east, and south-west faces of the mound. As one looks down from the top of the *zigurrat*, the whole of the ruins which lie to the south-east at one's feet consist of waterworn hummocks, ravines, drift-banks of sand against some ancient wall (thus protected and so preserved), and, after rain, pools of water.

The *zigurrat* rises in apparently two stages about eighty-four feet above the general level of the desert. Its core is of unburnt brick, now much exposed and consequently destroyed by the rains which have washed it down so that it has re-set in a mass below; its facing of burnt brick still remains in position in places, especially on the less exposed sides to north-east and south-east. It was on this latter front that Taylor discovered the staircase which leads up the side; he describes it as 'fifteen feet broad and seventy feet long, measuring along its inclined plane. The marble slabs that formed the steps were still plentifully scattered over it. . . . The *escaliers* were of brick (four feet broad), and all bear the usual Abu Shahrein inscription'.[1]

From the *zigurrat* as far as the eye can see there is naught but awful solitude; you look down on sombre desert which encircles you for miles. Northwards lie the flat lands, yellow in April and unrelieved except for sparse arabesques of salt spreading like mares'-tails in a breezy sky, while afar, just visible as a little pimple in the mornings but blotted out in the afternoon haze, is the temple-tower of Muqaiyar. Towards the north-east, especially when the sun is setting, the sandstone ridge on the skyline is thrown into vivid relief as a white streak six miles away. Eastwards, not far from the mound, the grass has sprung up, marking the dry site of the winter lagoon which lies between you and the sandstone ridge; southwards towards Dafna and Qusair are the distant low sandstone hills circling round and completing a wide arc to westward. Between you and the sunset is a broad green tract of scrub and coarse grass wherein lie the wells two miles away. Not a tree is in sight, and the only fuel is that provided by the little dry bushes (see pl. V, A–C).

The modern name of the mound Abu Shahrain is also given as Abu Shuhur, and I suggest that this means 'father of two new moons' or 'father of

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 406. Some chambers were discovered by Taylor in the south-east corner, their walls being composed of sun-dried brick, and the floor of beaten clay, resting on a bed of sand. He describes the walls as having been covered with a fine plaster rudely painted with the figure of a man holding a bird on his wrist with a smaller figure near him, in red paint.

new moons', in reference to the extraordinary number of prehistoric sickles of baked clay which were to be picked up on the surface. Mr. Hall tells me, however, that when he was here in 1919 he noticed bricks stamped with two crescents, such as I found at Ur (see fig. 3, no. 1), and his suggestion that 'Abu Shahrain' is taken from these may be the correct solution. Of its exact position there have been curiously incorrect reports, and, as Hilprecht (*Expl. in Bible Lands*, p. 178) points out, it has been put on the left bank of the Euphrates in maps. Hilprecht himself makes a double misstatement when he says that 'the ruins of Abû Shahrain, situated as they are in a deep valley, cannot be seen from Muqayyar'. The 'deep valley' does not exist[1]; the sandstone ridge drops abruptly merely 15 or 20 feet on the Abu Shahrain side at six miles from the mound, and the intervening space is flat desert containing a broad and shallow depression. The *zigurrat* of Abu Shahrain can be seen quite easily from the *zigurrat* of Muqaiyar on a clear day, as Peters says.

Hilprecht says that Abu Shahrain is not identical with Nowawis, as Peters says (*Nippur*, ii, pp. 96 and 298). I have no recollection of hearing this name given to it, but Mr. Hall tells me that he did.

History of Eridu.—Eridu was regarded by the later Assyrians as one of the oldest cities. Its name is written in Sumerian NUN-KI, or ERI-DUG-(GA) (the good city), the latter probably being the origin of the punning Assyrian equivalent Eridu. Legend told that Eridu was one of the first cities to be created: 'Nippur was not made, E-Kur (the temple at Nippur) was not built, Erech was not made, E-Anna (the temple at Erech) was not built, the Deep (*Apsû*) was not made, Eridu was not built.' But, out of a state of universal sea, 'Eridu was made, E-Sagila was built'.[2] The city of Eridu, sacred to Enki, at this time, at any rate, lord of the deep, contained a temple dedicated to him in historic times; he was the patron of medicine, and when his son Marduk was unable to help the physicians who invoked him to their aid in difficulties, it was Enki who in a final appeal would provide a successful recipe. Marduk, as healer, is even called 'the son of Eridu'. The magic of Eridu was so potent that a sorcerer would identify himself with this holy spot in his exorcisms: 'I am the magician born of Eridu, begotten in Eridu and Shubari.' There was a particular plant called the *kiškanû* (of three kinds, dark coloured, yellow-brown, and white) found here, and used in an incantation beginning, 'In Eridu groweth the *kiškanû*,'[3] presuming that the Assyrian translator has rendered the Sumerian GIŠ-ḪAR correctly.

[1] Taylor gives an incorrect impression by these words which he uses (p. 404).

[2] Pinches, *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 400 ff.

[3] I must cry *touché* to Albright's remark in *A.J.S.L.*, xxxv, 1919, p. 194, that I am 'guilty of an extraordinary slip in admitting that [the astragalus, with which I had formerly identified *kiškanû*]

It was at Eridu that Adapa, the legendary hero of the city, lived, and Enki was his patron, endowing him with wisdom. Adapa was a master-baker who also fished for the city, and one day, when he was out in his scow, the south wind sank him with a sudden gust. Adapa laid hold on the wind, and broke his wing, so that he ceased to blow.[1]

In historic times the city falls into a state of vassalage, and not even from the new diggings has any record of native kings been discovered. The only local inscriptions (three on bricks, excluding one on a fragmentary mace-head) are those of the pious kings Ur-Engur and Bur-Sin, both of Ur in the third quarter of the third millennium, and Nur-Immer, of Larsa about 2197 B.C. One of the earliest references to the city is of the time of Ur-Ninâ, a king of Lagash[2] about 3000 B.C.; Eannatum, also king of Lagash (*c.* 2900), holds sway over Erech and Ur, and consequently probably Eridu too[3]; Entemena of Lagash a little later dedicates an *apsû-pasirra* (probably a 'sea', or 'laver') to 'Enki, king of Eridu'.[4]

Neither Lugal-zaggisi, who presently ravaged Lagash, nor Shargali-sharri (*c.* 2650) apparently did anything for Eridu. Lagash again comes into prominence under Urbau about 2500 B.C., and he builds a temple to Enki in Lagash, but not in Eridu, and it is not until Gudea (of Lagash, *c.* 2475)—an interval altogether of about 400 years—that we hear Eridu seriously mentioned.

Gudea, so he relates, has a dream,[5] and he appeals for its interpretation to Ninâ, the goddess who is the sister of Nin-gir-su, the patron deity of Lagash. She is invoked by the ruler as an interpreter or diviner,[6] and as the child of Eridu,[7] both of which epithets are in keeping with the traditional oracles of that city. She explains the dream and in consequence he builds a temple to Nin-gir-su, 'the temple of which the god Enki had arranged the plan'.[8] In this temple the god Enki established the foundation, and Ninâ, the offspring of Eridu,

might grow in the swamps near Eridu'. Certainly I noticed nothing of the kind near. I might add, for the benefit of those interested, that while at Abu Shahrain I collected the following few plants which Mr. A. B. Rendle, of the Natural History Museum, kindly had identified for me in his department: Fam. Cruciferae: *Savignya aegyptiaca* and *Malcolmia africana*, L.; Fam. Plantaginaceae: *Plantago ovata*, Forsk.; Fam. Compositae: *Gymnarrhena micrantha*, Desf., and *Scorzonera*, ? species.

[1] The rest of this legend will be found in L. W. King's *Babylonian Religion*, p. 188; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 659; and in my forthcoming volume, *Semitic Mythology* (Marshall Jones Co.) in the series, 'The Mythology of all Races'.

[2] De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xxxvii; Thureau-Dangin, *Les Inscriptions*, p. 19. Possibly this is the period when the early plano-convex bricks discovered by Taylor were made.

[3] See King, *History of Sumer*, p. 148.

[4] King, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[5] See Thureau-Dangin, *Les Cylindres de Goudéa; Les Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, p. 135.

[6] *Les Cylindres*, p. 7, l. 1. [7] *Ibid.*, l. 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 39, l. 17.

turned her attention to the oracles.[1] But the most interesting event of all was the procession of Nin-gir-su from his old temple to the new one: 'Gudea was heard; the warrior (Nin-gir-su) (received) his prayers; the lord Nin-gir-su received the prayers of Gudea. The year passed; the month ended; the new year came; the month of the temple arrived; the third day of this month (began) to dawn; then Nin-gir-su went forth from Eridu.'[2] All kinds of ceremonies were performed: 'the king Enki uttered oracles (thereon), the god Nin-dub, the supreme priest of Eridu, filled up (the censers),'[3] and on the appointed day Nin-gir-su entered his temple in Lagash. It is certainly most curious that he should have left 'Eridu', for Nin-gir-su is properly the son of Enlil,[4] and he has some kind of habitation in Nippur,[5] the city sacred to Enlil; yet again elsewhere[6] we find the same indication: 'To receive the invocations of Lagash, to grant the prayers of this (city), the Warrior going to Eridu, to pronounce a benediction, Nin-gir-su coming (back) from Eridu.' Statue 'B' of Gudea records that this ruler 'built the temple of Nin-gir-su like Eridu, in a pure place.'[7]

Then Lagash again sinks, and Ur rises to prominence; and, as these excavations show for the first time, Ur-Engur repairs this temple at Eridu.[8]

Dungi, his son, is said by a (non-contemporaneous) text to have 'cared greatly for Eridu which was on the shore of the sea'.[9] The next king, his son, Bur-sin, most adequately restored the facing of the *zigurrat*, as is shown by the present condition of the ruins.[10] He calls himself High Priest of Eridu.[11] When Ur falls from high estate about 2357 B.C. and Isin, another city, rises to power, we find Ishme-Dagan, Libit-Ishtar, Ur-Ninurta, and Bur-Sin II, who reigned during the twenty-third century B.C., all mentioning Eridu, the third calling himself the 'shepherd of Ur, who makes pure the decrees of Eridu'; but they do not claim to have done any building there.[12] The excavations help us out again, for we found a brick of Nur-Immer (*c.* 2197 B.C.), the eighth king of a dynasty of Larsa, part of which was contemporaneous with the four kings of Isin mentioned above, which shows, at any rate, that one of the kings of Larsa actually went to

[1] *Les Cylindres*, p. 45, ll. 15, 16.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69, l. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, col. iv, l. 3.
[4] Deimel, *Panthéon*, p. 201.
[5] Paffrath, *Götterlehre*, p. 187.
[6] *Les Cylindres*, p. 77, col. viii, l. 10 ff. Cf. also the 'Ass of Eridu', col. ix, l. 18.
[7] Thureau-Dangin, *Les Inscriptions*, p. 107, col. iv, l. 7. The 'pure place' certainly at times implies the desert: cf. my *Semitic Magic*, p. 199, and also the Sumerian poem published by Langdon, *Le Poème Sumérien*, p. 61, where the home of Enki is described as a 'pure place', where, according to one explanation of the lines which follow, there are no creatures.
[8] See fig. 6.
[9] King, *Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings*, vol. ii, p. 11; *History of Sumer*, p. 282.
[10] For his brick-inscription see fig. 6.
[11] Thureau-Dangin, *Les Inscriptions*, p. 336, note 1.
[12] For these references see King, *History of Babylon*, 134, 147; Thureau-Dangin, *Les Inscriptions* pp. 291, 293.

Eridu. But few of his bricks were recovered, and he does not seem to have carried out any great works there.

Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin, the thirteenth and fourteenth kings of Larsa (*c.* 2167–2094 B. C.) refer to Eridu, but do not claim to have done any building. When the whirligig of time brought Babylon to its early zenith, we do, it is true, find Hammurabi mentioning Eridu, with its temple E-Apsû, as though he had done some restoration there.[1] But nothing to show this was revealed by the excavations.

The Results of the Excavations.[2]

From the excavations it would appear that:

(1) There was not much serious occupation of the mound after Sumerian times (say 2000 B. C.), although Hammurabi in his prologue says he 'purified' the temple of E-Apsû, and it may be that even in classical times the place may still have been a market for Arab wares, if it turn out that Teredon is the same as Eridu.

(2) (*a*) The later Sumerians appear to have used the mound as a place of burial, if my explanation of the spouted pots be correct. But they certainly repaired the temple even as late as the twenty-second century. (*b*) The records from the excavations show that Nur-Immer, Bur-Sin, and Ur-Engur carried out restorations. I cannot be sure about the date of the buildings of unburnt brick near the *zigurrat* (chambers, 1, 2, 3, pl. V, F, and trench VIII, 2), which may be Sumerian from their position comparable (in point of level) to that of the *zigurrat*. But there is no doubt that the Sumerians built in Eridu at a very early period. (*c*) Taylor's buttress of plano-convex bricks bears witness to that (fig. 7).

(3) Previous to the Sumerians, of whose occupation we have no record before *c.* 3000 B. C., the city of Eridu, in common with Muqaiyar and other cities of this area (see Appendices IV, V), was occupied by a prehistoric race, entirely distinct from the Sumerians, but the same as the prehistoric people found by De Morgan at Susa and Mussian, and thus forming a link with the early migrations from Anau (east of the Caspian), whose pottery, painted with geometric designs in black, spread as far as Anatolia and southern Palestine. This people appears to have migrated at an early time from the Pamirs or Hindu Kush, and are conceivably von Luschan's 'Armenoids'.

These prehistoric folk at Eridu were not only able to make exquisite pottery (artistically painted, and almost certainly without the wheel), but were good

[1] See Prologue to the Code of Hammurabi.

[2] It should be noted that unless the provenance is otherwise indicated, the objects were found on the surface. Objects found in the excavations are indicated by the number of trench and pit, followed by the depth in feet.

agriculturists: they used stone hoes to till the ground, and reaped their crops with clay sickles, and rubbed their corn with stone querns into flour; their spindle whorls show that they could weave; for weapons they had bows, slings, and axes of ground stone; for ornaments it was probably they who had delicately-made obsidian pins, and perhaps the cornelian beads are to be referred to this period also. They were unable to write and seem not to have been able to carve stone, which may doubtless be explained from there being no certain indication of their possessing metal. For food, besides cereals, they ate fish (cf. trenches XII, 1, 17′ and XIV, 3, 6′) and freshwater mussels, and doubtless as they had slings and bows, birds and small animals.

The absence of any satisfactory proof of burnt brick (cf. trench VIII, 1, B 10′: and especially 17′) and the presence of the *libn* wall in trench XIV, 3, 1′, go to show that they were probably able to build mud-brick houses: more probable still is it that they lived in reed-huts like the modern Arab. The wild weather of the spring, and the heat of the summer, make some shelter imperative.

(4) Eridu was not on 'the shores of the sea', but on the tidal waters of the Euphrates lagoons.

I will put forward my evidence for these four points as briefly as possible.

(1) *No serious late occupation.*—That there was no serious late occupation is clear from the entire lack of copper coins (such as I have picked up at Birs Nimroud) and not more than one or two fragments (if any) of green-glazed ware such as would have appeared in quantities if there had been Parthian occupation. We did find one perfect green-glazed pot (pl. X, A, 3, and fig. 4, no. 14), probably in a burial in the southern mound, but this can hardly be proof of anything except a stray visitor. In date, of course, glazed pots in Mesopotamia may date back to the Kassite period (ending twelfth century B.C.). I noted only three pieces of glass on the main mound (pl. IX, 5th row, 11, 13, 14).

But in the diggings themselves there was nothing to indicate late occupation, and there were no tablets at all.

In the later cuneiform texts (i.e. of the golden age of Assyria) it is rarely mentioned as a place of practical habitation. It is, however, quoted in a few letters of this time (seventh century) as taking part in a revolt, but even then we should not be justified in assuming more than a semi-permanent occupation, considering what we know of its history from other sources.

(2) (*a*) *Eridu as a place of burial.* That it was a burial ground is shown by the large number of Sumerian interments which we found, for the most part near the surface, within the first three or four feet, always in the easier soil, i.e. the sand which had blown in and filled the ruined buildings. Those who made these interments avoided purposely the harder parts of the mound, that is, the masses of unburnt brick which formed ancient walls. This must definitely indi-

cate that the burials were made some considerable time after serious occupation of the mound ceased.

The burials in the actual mound appear to have been Sumerian. They consist of a skeleton (now never intact, and very rarely with more than a few of the bones apparent) and a few pots buried with it. The burial appears to have been quite simple: there were no traces of mats wrapped round the body (as I found at Ur, and the Germans at Fara [1]), nor clay coffins in the mound (as I found at Tell el-Lahm,[2] such as are common in many sites). It is possible that the body was dismembered before interment, but there is really nothing to show this, except the fact that the mat-burial which I found at Ur within two feet of the surface was equally liable to attacks from jackals or human grave-robbers, and yet it had not been disturbed. There were no ornaments, however, in the Abu Shahrain burials, neither beads nor copper rings, a negative indication which might point to grave-robbing.

The pots are one indication of the date, and they can be divided into three main shapes, two of them not wheel-turned, and of the third some are turned and some not.

The burial seems most commonly to have been made with two out of these three classes of pots together, a large *spouted pot* [3] of light-coloured or reddish clay, and either a coarse *basin* (or basins) of unturned red clay,[4] or a similar kind of *cup* or *goblet* (or goblets).[5] In one case three of these basins were found upside down, fitting into each other. A fourth, less common class of burial pot, apparently of the same date, was the *footless phial*, often of light-coloured clay.[6] Of other pottery, one was a large heavy globular pot,[7] and another a little bowl containing traces of vermilion paint.[8]

I saw nothing like the coarse bowls or cups at any of the other sites which I visited, but Herzfeld [9] found a very similar bowl at Tell edh-Dhahab on the east bank of the Tigris about half-way between Kal'ah Sherghat and Tekrit. This is of coarse ware, 16 cm. in diameter and 9 cm. high, thus corresponding in height with fig. 3, no. 4, but considerably smaller. Cros (*Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, p. 112) found a similar cup at Telloh.

The majority of these burials, as I have already remarked, were found in the first three or four feet of sand; but in trench XI, A (see Appendix 1) it will be seen that pieces of the coarse pots were found at 21 ft. depth. This might at first sight seem to indicate a great age, but an examination of the

[1] See p. 139, and *Mittheil. der Deutsch. Orientgesellsch.*, Nos. 15, 17. [2] See p. 142.
[3] Fig. 4, nos. 2, 3, 4, 7. [4] Fig. 3, no. 4, and fig. 4, no. 10.
[5] Fig. 3, no. 3, and fig. 4, no. 8. Cf. the goblet in the hand of the worshipper before a Sumerian deity (from Susa, De Morgan, *Délég.*, i, p. 102).
[6] Fig. 4, no. 1. [7] Fig. 4, no. 5, and pl. X, A, 4. [8] Fig. 4, no. 15.
[9] *Memnon*, vol. i, p. 94. He regards this mound as showing prehistoric traces.

description of the débris above this point will show that at least twelve feet must be subtracted for wind-blown sand and rain-washed clay from the *zigurrat*.

The appearance of the spouted pots convinces me they are Sumerian. Those from these interments are all of cream-coloured or reddish pottery, never with any ornamentation, either painted or incised, often, but not always, unturned. This class of spouted pot is well known to have existed among the Sumerians. It is portrayed on Sumerian monuments of a very early period,[1] and from this, and the relative position in the excavations, I believe they must be dated to Sumerian times.[2]

One point is striking. Throughout the diggings on the actual mound there was no instance of a clay 'bath-tub' burial, such as I noted both at Ur and frequently

1 2 3 4 5 6

Fig. 3. Scale about $\frac{1}{5}$. 1 and 2 from Ur (trench III, 3, 3′ and III, 5, 3′): 3–6 from Abu Shahrain (3 and 4, specimen funerary cup and bowl: 5, from near surface: 6, plano-convex brick).

in Tell el-Lahm, which is important for comparison, in consideration of their proximity to Eridu. The only 'bath-tub' burials at Eridu which I noticed were towards the south mound about a mile distant, and one or two on the flat near the big mound of Eridu, but outside it. Let us look at the comparative history of this bath-tub burial.

Koldewey (*Babylon*, p. 272, English edition) considers that the lowest levels at Babylon of the first Babylonian kings (*c.* 2000 B.C.) contain no sarcophagi, the bodies being buried simply, or rolled in reed mats, or roughly surrounded by mud bricks. These were followed by the 'double-urn' burials (such as I found at Tell el-Lahm); and above these the 'high pottery coffins' (i.e. our

[1] See Jastrow, *Bildermappe*, pp. 81 and 84.

[2] Of course, spouted pots occur in the earlier 'geometrical' types, and some of the spouts picked up, which were crudely painted with a black band, *may* be intermediate Sumerian.

Fig. 4. Shapes of the Pottery; the provenance is Abu Shahrain unless the labels indicate Ur (Muqaiyar). The number of the trench and depth in feet are given.

'bath-tub'), angular on the head side, rounded on the other, which he ascribes to Nebuchadnezzar (*c.* sixth century B.C.) 'and earlier'.

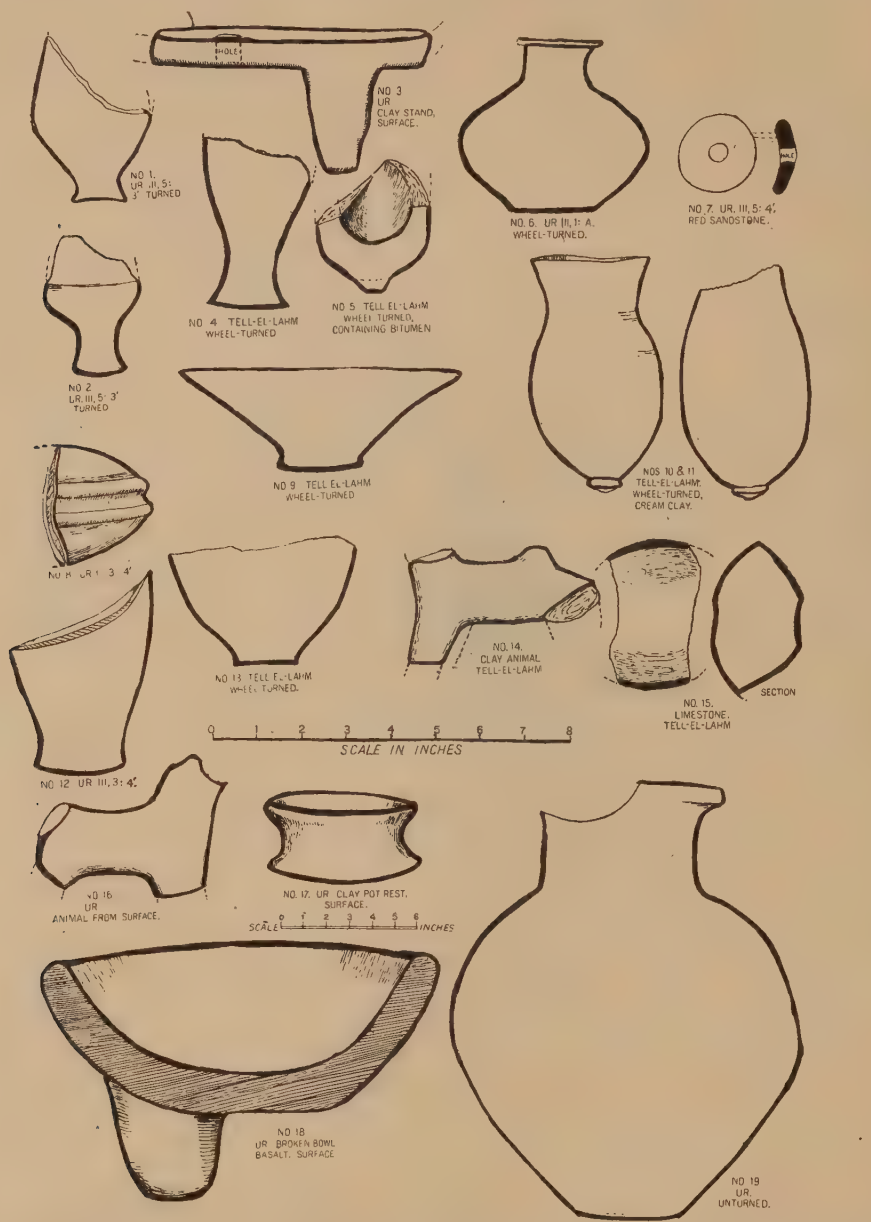
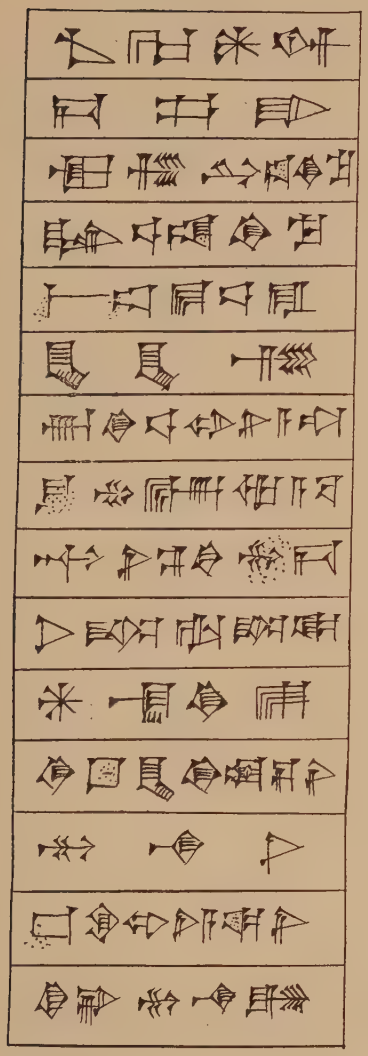
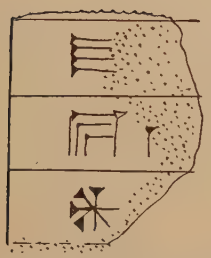


Fig. 5. Shapes of the Pottery, etc., from Ur (Muqaiyar) and Tell el-Lahm. The number of the trench and depth in feet are given, unless the object was found on the surface. No. 17 has its own scale marked: the remainder correspond to the central scale. No. 19 is from trench III, 2, 4'.

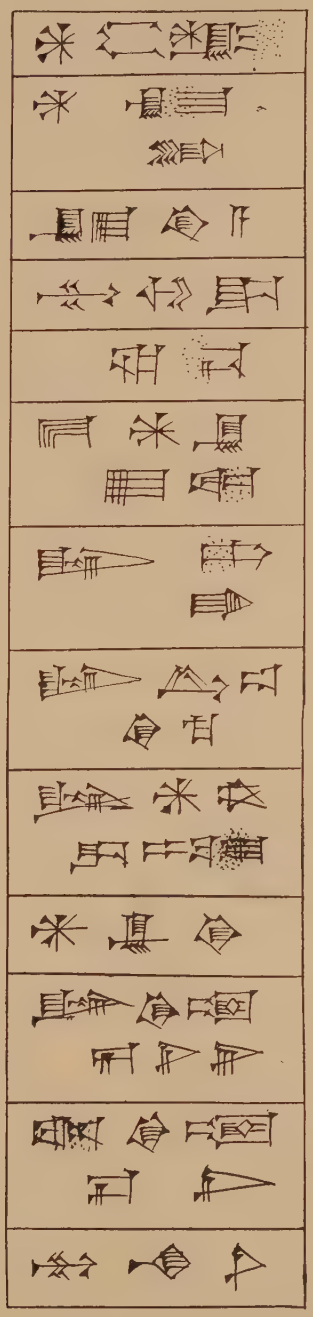
Peters, however, is inclined to make the equivalent burials at Nippur rather earlier (*Nippur*, vol. ii, p. 217). He says that the characteristic coffins of



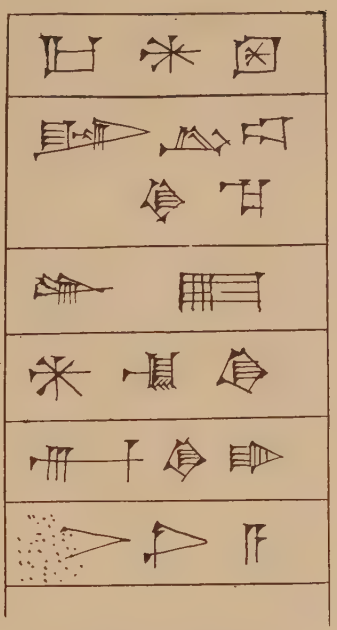
BRICK FROM ABU SHAHRAIN,
(NUR-IMMER)



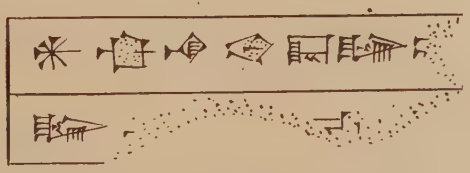
BRICK FROM TELL-EL-LAHM.



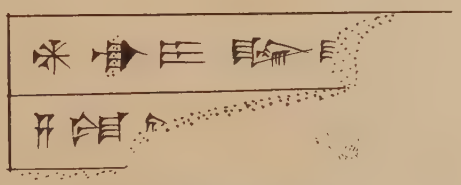
BRICK FROM ABU-SHAHRAIN,
(BUR-SIN).



BRICK FROM ABU SHAHRAIN,
(UR-ENGUR).



BRICK FROM MUQAIYAR. (NABONIDUS).



BRICK FROM MUQAIYAR. (NABONIDUS).

Fig. 6.

the Babylonian period from 2000 B.C. to the close of the Persian era have the shape of a baby's bath-tub, and that at and before this period (Hammurabi and before him) the burials were in the 'double-urns'. Cros (*loc. cit.*, p. 135) shows, from his careful records, that the double-urn burials at Telloh, owing to his discovery of a Bur-Sin brick below them, are subsequent to that king (*c.* 2400).

At any rate, our authorities do not make the 'bath-tub' burials pre-Hammurabi, which gives us a fairly certain approximate date for them, i. e. the second millennium B.C., and, this being so, the rarity of their occurrence near Eridu is additional proof that Semitic occupation was not extensive. Incidentally I might add that analogous bath-tub burials occur rarely in pre-dynastic Egyptian cemeteries (Ayrton and Loat, *Pre-dynastic cemetery at Mahasna*, class c, two burials only: at Kawamil, De Morgan, *Recherches*, p. 138), and once at least in Palestine (Schumacher, *Tell-el-Mutesellim*, p. 145, in the southern city gate, the sixth level from below).

(2) (*b*) *The inscriptions.*—The earliest written documents to which we can affix a certain date are the bricks which record the rebuilding of the temple and *zigurrat* by pious Sumerian kings:

(1) *Ur-Engur* (*c.* 2470 B.C., from surface on *zigurrat*) (fig. 6).

(1) UR-^{dingir} ENGUR (2) LUGAL URI- (3) KI-MA (4) GALU E- (5) ^{dingir}EN-KI (6) NUN-KI-GA (7) IN-DU-A 'Ur-Engur, King of Ur, who hath built the Temple of Enki of Eridu.'

I believe only one other brick of this kind was found.

(2) *Bur-Sin* (*c.* 2400 B.C., from *zigurrat*), grandson of the above (fig. 6). This class of brick was discovered by Taylor.

(1) ^{Dingir}BUR-^{dingir} EN-ZU (2) ^{dingir}EN-LIL-LI (3) EN-LIL-KI-A (4) MU-PAD-DA (5) SAG-UŠ (6) E DINGIR-EN-LIL-KA (7) LUGAL LIG-GA (8) LUGAL URI-KI-MA (9) LUGAL AN-UB-DA-TAB-TAB-BA-KA (10) ^{dingir}EN-KI (11) LUGAL KI-AG-GA-NI-IR (12) ZU-AB KI-AG-GA-NI (13) MU-NA-DU[1] 'Bur-Sin, proclaimed by Enlil in Nippur as *Sag-uš* of the Temple of Enlil, the powerful king, the king of Ur, the king of the four regions, unto Enki, his beloved king, hath built his beloved Apsû ("Ocean").'

The inscription of this king is common on the bricks of the *zigurrat.*

(3) *Nur-Immer*, king of Larsa (*c.* 2197 B.C.) (fig. 6).

(1) NU-UR-^{dingir} IMMER (2) NITAḪ LIG-GA (3) ENGAR GIN URI-KI-MA (4) LUGAL ARAR-KI-MA (5) ME EŠ E-BABBAR-RA (6) AZAG-

[1] There is a shorter text given in *W. A. I.*, I, 3, xii, 2 and *C. T.*, xxi, 24, said to have come from Abu Shahrain, but I did not notice any of the kind there.

AZAG-GI (7) NUN-KI UD-UL-LI-A-TA (8) SU-MU-UN-ḪUL-A-BA (9) BAL-NI SI-DI MU-UŠ (10) KAK-NE AL-DE-KA (11) dingir EN-KI-GE (12) KI-KU AZAG KI-AG-GA-NI (13) MU-NA-DU (14) GIŠ-ḪAR UL-NI-A-KA-NI (15) KI-BI MU-NA-GE 'Nur-Immer, the mighty man, the true irrigator of Ur, the king of Larsa, the priest who hath cleansed the temple of E-Babbara: Eridu from of old having been destroyed, for his happy reign he erected, its building he renewed; for Enki the pure abode, his beloved place, he built; the GIŠ-ḪAR (oracle?) as it was before he restored to its place.'

Of other devotion of the Sumerians to the temple there was no doubt. The broken pieces of alabaster bowls which lay on the surface of the desert to the south may be Sumerian; at any rate we found also on the surface two small fragments of carved alabaster which are perhaps of Sumerian workmanship (pl. VIII, 4th row, and fig. 14, nos. 1, 2). I have a recollection that *one* fragment of alabaster bowl was found in a trench, but if so I have mislaid the record of it; otherwise all alabaster came from the surface. A piece of white alabaster mace-head with the remains of two or three cuneiform characters of an early period was the only other inscribed object (apart from the bricks) discovered (fig. 4, no. 13).

Again, we found the *zigurrat* sacrifice. At 15 feet in trench XI, A was the skeleton of a *Bos celticus* (identified for me most kindly by Mr. Pycraft, F.Z.S., of the Natural History Museum). This was close to the foot of the *zigurrat*, under the latest stratum of unburnt brick pavement at $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which was laid on the top of three or four feet of wind-blown sand, which in its turn was on two feet of rain-washed clay. That is to say, the *zigurrat* had fallen in ruins, sand had covered them, and then a pious founder rebuilt them. We shall not be far wrong in ascribing this either to Nur-Immer, or, much more probably, as the *zigurrat* was thoroughly faced by Bur-Sin, to this latter king. The ox was evidently a foundation sacrifice, such as may be seen on the Stele of the Vultures (period Eannatum, 2900 B.C.). The horns, with two or three other pairs, were found close by at 19 feet.

(2) (*c*) *Taylor's buttress.* The earliest construction in burnt brick is of course the buttress discovered by Taylor in the south-east part of the mound. It is composed of red burnt plano-convex brick (see fig. 3, no. 6), which is amongst the earliest Sumerian building-work in burnt brick as yet known,[1] stuck together with thick layers of bitumen as mortar, and the whole mass set on sand. A later addition had been made to it, prolonging it to the south-east, going much deeper, and acting as an additional buttress; this was a projection made of a different class of brick, yellow-baked, set with sand ($10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$, a usual later

[1] A contract from Telloh, written on a plano-convex brick containing the name of the *patesi* Eannatum (*c.* 2900), gives us a certain date for this class of brick (Cros, *loc. cit.*, p. 220).

Sumerian size, see p. 143: for a photograph, see fig. 7, Taylor, p. 409. I did not uncover his second buttress).

(3) *The prehistoric occupation of Southern Babylonia.* A far more important period at Abu Shahrain than that of the Sumerian is now indicated for the first time by the prehistoric remains, pottery painted in black with geometric designs, stone implements, etc.

These occur as low as what I believe to be virgin soil in the pits which we were able to dig so deeply; and they were also to be picked up in far greater quantity on the desert near the south and south-east parts of the mound. Of this, the pottery, at any rate, may have come from a necropolis, or it may have been washed down from the mound; either is possible, as in the first case we can find a parallel at Susa; in the second we should have to explain the presence of fragments of (historic?) alabaster bowls with the pottery.

Fig 7. Taylor's buttress. The plano-convex bricks are above the well-made later buttress on the right: what looks like a stairway at the back is part of the limestone city-wall.

This pottery, as a glance at figs. 8–11 will show, for the first time (apart from inscriptions of the third millennium relating meagre details of wars) proves the presence of a people in Southern Babylonia of the same race as the earliest known people at Susa. It was a people who originally migrated from the east of the Caspian (where Pumpelly's excavations at Anau have located their ancestors) and spread, viâ Nineveh, Mussian, Susa, and Babylonia to the Mediterranean and into Cappadocia and probably Southern Palestine. The presence of the Sumerians at Abu Shahrain about 3000 B.C. indicates that the arrival of this people cannot be later than the fourth millennium B.C. De Morgan found similar remains at Susa, throughout a stratum of nine metres depth, below a level of fifteen metres from the top. As is well known, the genesis of these is apparently to be seen in the lowest two (if not three) strata at Anau, 300 miles east of the Caspian, in Pumpelly's excavations, a level which is assessed as far back as 8000 B.C. by the author, a date which I think is exaggerated. Professor J. L. Myres (*J.R.A.I.*, 1903, p. 367) wrote an article on similar fragments from Palestine, Cappadocia, and Nineveh, and we have thus perhaps to admit a great migration of an early people from or viâ Turkestan westward to Asia Minor.[1]

[1] I have gone into this subject more fully in my forthcoming book on *Semitic Mythology*, published by Messrs. Marshall Jones. I must here acknowledge my indebtedness to Messrs. Leroux for permission to reproduce some of De Morgan's illustrations for comparative purposes.

The prehistoric finds of Abu Shahrain may thus be enumerated:

1. A large quantity of unturned buff or greenish pottery painted in black (more rarely red and white) with geometric designs, and rarely animal forms. It is frequently of very delicate make and quite distinct from the more utilitarian Sumerian pottery, which is rarely, if ever, painted thus (see specimens on figs. 8–11). There is one peculiar piece of this represented on fig. 11, A.S. 384, which is difficult to explain; it would be too fantastic to suggest its being a 'bull-roarer' (trench XIV, 3, 4′). It is probable that the perfect pot, fig. 4, no. 9, and fig. 3, no. 5, is of this period. It was found near the surface down a slope.

These undoubtedly represent the product of the earliest people at Abu Shahrain, as pieces were found in every trench that we dug to (or near) virgin level in the lower strata. But besides this delicate ware we found (more rarely) a class of coarse unpainted pot, chiefly fragmentary, but in one case whole, a large globular pot with lugs (see pl. X, A, 1, and fig. 4, no. 16, trench XIV, 4, 2′).

In conjunction with this pottery in the same strata were found:

2. Well-chipped hoes[1] of flint and chert. About 400 more were picked up on the surface (cf. De Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, xiii, p. 20, for similar examples). (See pl. VII, B, and note trench XIV, 1, 4′ and 5′, fig. 11.)

3. Ground stone axe-heads, sometimes serpentine. About fifty more were found on the surface (cf. De Morgan, xiii, p. 18, 'pétrosilex' or 'calcaire siliceux', and Mussian, viii, p. 86). (See pl. VIII, and note trenches XII, 3, 2′; XII, 4, 1′; XIV, 1, 4′, fig. 11.)

4. Stone flakes, knives, etc. Great quantities were picked up on the surface. Besides the ordinary flakes were many small flint points, possibly borers, harpoon-teeth, or fish-hooks, having a flat base as though they were to be attached to a handle or haft. There were also one leaf-shaped and two barbed arrow-heads (pl. IX, 7th row), indicating that this prehistoric people used the bow, whatever the Sumerian may have done (De Morgan, xiii, p. 15; obsidian, p. 17, Tepe Muhammad Jafar, 3 km. from Mussian, viii, p. 82; barbed arrow-heads, xiii, p. 17). (See pls. VI, IX.) Noticeable was a *bored* obsidian flake.

5. A few bone implements, all prickers of some kind (cf. De Morgan, xiii, p. 21). (See pl. IX, 4th row at end, and note trenches XIV, 1, 1′: 3′; XIV, 2, 2′.)

6. Corn-grinders and querns (also numerous on the surface). These consisted of a flat lower stone, worn concave, and a hand-muller generally roughly spherical (cf. De Morgan, xiii, p. 16; and Koldewey, for Babylon, *Excav. at*

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Reginald Smith for this explanation. Many prehistoric objects similar to these in 1–10 were found and duly noted by Taylor, for whose diggings here I should like to say that I have the greatest admiration.

Babylon, p. 260, a flat lower stone usually hollowed by use and a rubbing-stone). (Cf. trenches XII, 1, 17′; XII, 3, 4′: 5′.)

7. Egg-shaped sling-missiles of clay. Several of stone were picked up on the surface. (See pl. VIII, and note trenches XIV, 3, 3′: 4′; XIV, 4, 5′: 6′.)

8. Several pins of obsidian and crystal were found on the surface (cf. De Morgan, xiii, p. 10, fig. 12). What these were for is uncertain, but

(FROM DE MORGAN, DELEGATION EN PERSE, VOLS. 1 & 13).
VOL. 1, PL. XXI, 9.
VOL. 1, PL. XXI, 14.
VOL. 13, PL. 1, 2.
VOL. 13, PL. VII, 4
VOL. 13, PL. V, 5.
VOL. 1, PL. XXII, 14.
VOL. 13, p. 58.
VOL. 13, PL. XX, 9.
From Pl. XVII, 2.
VOL. 1, PL. XVIII, 17.
VOL. 1, p. 49.
VOL. 13, PL. XX, 8.
VOL. 13, PL VI, 5.

Fig. 8. Specimens of Pottery from Susa for comparison with Abu Shahrain.

probably personal adornment was their object (nose or ear-pins). They appear to have been rubbed into shape. (See pl. IX, 8th row, of which no. 10, of alabaster (?), and no. 14, of crystal, came from trench XII, 1, 17′, and no. 20, of some hard opaque stone, from trench XII, 3, 2′.)

9. The most unusual objects were, however, those made out of clay. Abu Shahrain, poor in metals and even stone, could at any rate provide unlimited clay, and the inhabitants used it to full advantage. The most curious are the sickles of

baked clay, made, as one may infer from the different sizes, for men, and women or children, and left-handed as well as right-handed. Taylor noticed and identified them in his diggings, and there is a full-size sketch by Mr. Vaux of one of them in the private papers preserved in the Society of Antiquaries' Library. I do not remember having seen them mentioned in previous excavations at places other than Eridu; I found the handle of one on the surface at Muqaiyar (pl. IX, 3rd row, 1).

Fig. 9. Painted pottery from Abu Shahrain from the surface.

Besides the specimens in the trenches I collected about 180 perfect or nearly perfect specimens from the surface (see pl. VII, A, and note trenches XII, 1, 7′ 6″: 9′: 11′ 6″: 13′; XII, 2, 4′; XIII, 2, 6′; XIV, 1, 4′; XIV, 2, 3′: 4′; XIV, 4, 6′).

10. A second equally interesting class is the baked clay 'nails'. These have commonly convex heads (they are rarely headless), and are always turned up at the point, which, of course, was done before baking, so that it was quite clear that their use in this form was customary. Exactly similar nails were

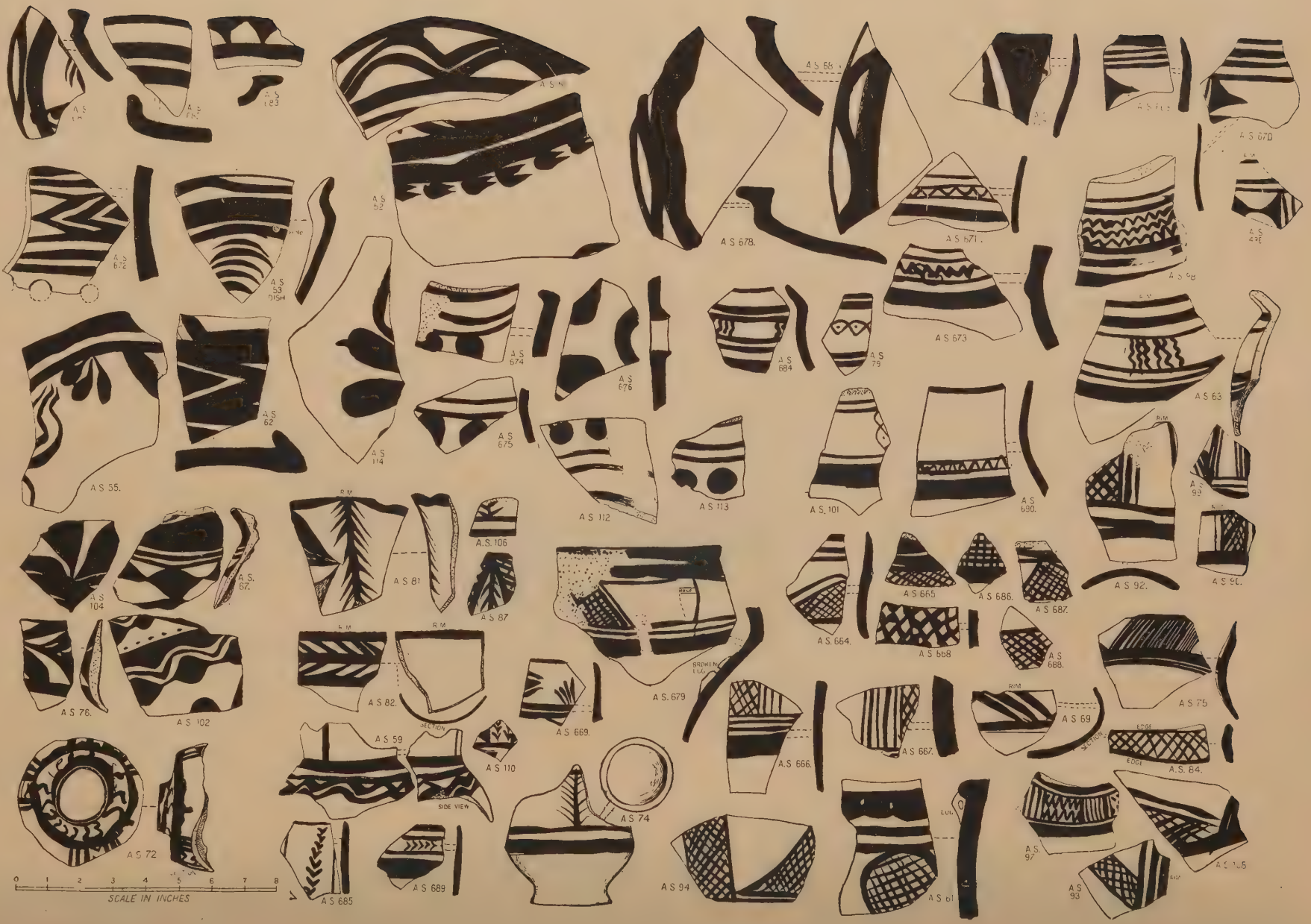


Fig. 10. Specimens of painted pottery from Abu Shahrain from the surface.

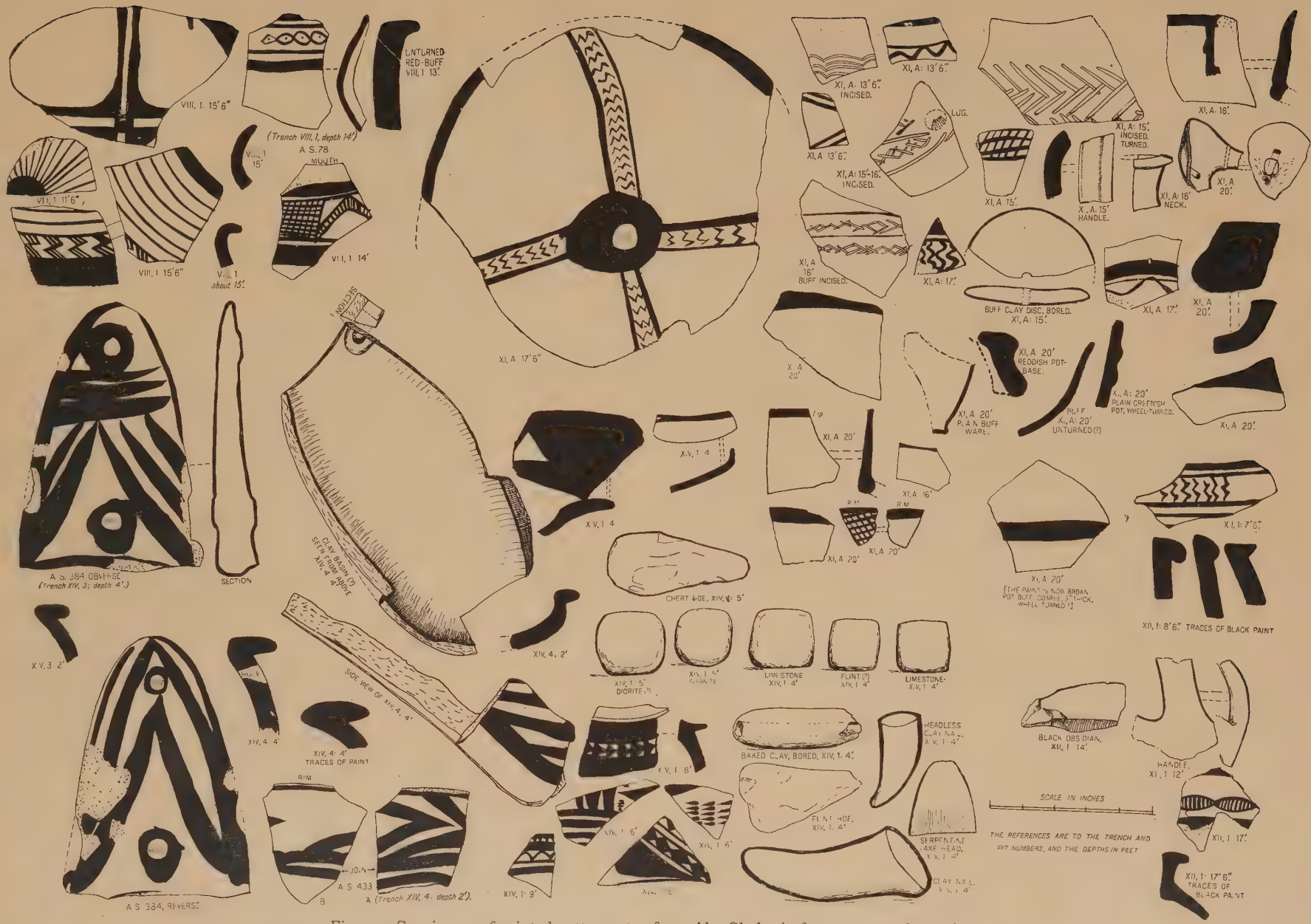

UNTURNED RED-BUFF VIII, 1 13'
VIII, 1 15'6"
(Trench VIII, 1, depth 14')
A S. 78
MOUTH
VIII, 1 11'6"
VIII, 1 15'6"
VIII, 1 about 15'
VIII, 1 14'
XI, A 17'6"
XI, A 13'6"
XI, A 13'6" INCISED.
XI, A 13'6"
LUG.
XI, A 15-16' INCISED.
XI, A 15'
XI, A 15' INCISED. TURNED.
XI, A 16'
XI, A 20'
X, A 15' HANDLE.
XI, A 16' NECK.
XI, A 16' BUFF INCISED.
XI, A 17'
BUFF CLAY DISC, BORED. XI, A 15'
XI, A 17'
XI, A 20'
X, A 20'
XI, A 20' REDDISH POT-BASE.
XI, A 20' PLAIN BUFF WARE.
X, A 20' PLAIN GREENISH POT, WHEEL-TURNED.
X, A 20' UNTURNED (?)
XI, A 20'
A S. 384 OBVERSE (Trench XIV, 3; depth 4')
SECTION
SECTION
CLAY BASIN (?) SEEN FROM ABOVE XIV, 4 4'
XV, 1 4
XI, A 20'
XI, A 16'
XI, A 20'
XI, A 20'
XI, A 20' [THE PAINT IS NOW BROWN POT BUFF COARSE, 3/4" THICK, WHEEL TURNED?]
XII, 1 7'6"
XII, 1 8'6" TRACES OF BLACK PAINT
CHERT HOE, XIV, 1 5'
XV, 3 2'
XIV, 4, 2'
SIDE VIEW OF XIV, 4, 4'
XIV, 4 4'
XIV, 4 4' TRACES OF PAINT
XIV, 1 5' DIORITE (?)
XIV, 1 5' GRANITE
LIMESTONE XIV, 1 4'
FLINT (?) XIV, 1 4'
LIMESTONE XIV, 1 4'
XV, 1 8'
BAKED CLAY, BORED, XIV, 1 4'
HEADLESS CLAY NAIL, XV, 1 4'
BLACK OBSIDIAN, XII, 1 14'
HANDLE, XII, 1 12'
RIM
A S 433
B
A (Trench XIV, 4, depth 2').
A S 384, REVERSE
XIV, 1 6'
XIV, 1 6'
FLINT HOE, XIV, 1 4'
SERPENTINE AXE-HEAD, XV, 1 4'
CLAY NAIL, XV, 1 4'
XIV, 1 9'
SCALE IN INCHES
THE REFERENCES ARE TO THE TRENCH AND PIT NUMBERS, AND THE DEPTHS IN FEET
XII, 1 17'
XII, 1 17'6" TRACES OF BLACK PAINT

Fig 11. Specimens of painted pottery, etc., from Abu Shahrain from excavated trenches.

found at Mussian,[1] and at Susa.[2] I cannot agree with De Morgan that these were used as amulets. They belong to a class of objects which can be defined as utilitarian, and as they existed in great numbers, and were exceedingly tough, I can only suppose they were meant to serve some useful purpose. They might conceivably be to insert in the bundles of reeds or in the adobe walls which formed the houses (see pl. VII, A, and note trenches XII, 1, 6′: 11′ 6″; XIV, 1, 4′). We found a great many on the surface.

11. The next objects of clay to notice are the spindle-whorls (trench XIV, 4, 5′) and what were probably net sinkers (trench XIV, 1, 4′; see pl. X, B). They also occurred commonly on the surface; and of the first class we found some made of bitumen (e. g. trench XIV, 1, 7′).

12. Although some small beads (often cornelian and even lapis) were picked up on the surface, they were not common (pl. IX, 6th row).

13. Clay figures of human beings did not occur in the excavations, although possibly a leg was meant as human, but animals were to be picked up occasionally. The black painting on them clearly showed that they were of the same date as the pottery (see figs. 5 and 9). One is a porcupine, as Mr. Hall has pointed out to me. One quite plain (from trench XIV, 4, 2′) is similar to one found at Susa (see pl. VIII, 6th row, and compare 'second period', De Morgan, xiii, pl. xxx, no. 2).

Other objects found on the surface presumably referable to this period are: a stone arrow-straightener (pl. X, B, 4th row); a painter's vase with three receptacles (pl. X, B, 4th row; cf. De Morgan xiii, pl. xxxii, 9, and xxxviii, 3).

(4). *Eridu and its position near the Persian Gulf.* I think that the freshwater mussel shells which I found in great quantity in different strata, when taken into consideration with the very few finds of marine shells, will definitely compel us to give up the idea that Eridu was in ancient times actually on the sea-shore. This was a theory depending in no little measure on a statement in a cuneiform chronicle, 'Dungi, the son of Ur-Engur, cared greatly for the city of Eridu, which was on the shore of the sea' (L. W. King, *Chronicles*, vol. ii, p. 11). There is no doubt that the Persian Gulf has been gradually receding from Mesopotamia, but the rate is uncertain. At the beginning of our geological period, according to Ross and Lynch (*Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc.*, vol. ix, pp. 446, 472), the sea was as high as lat. 33°. Loftus (*Travels*, p. 282) reckoned the rate of recession to be about one English mile in seventy years; Sir Henry

[1] 'Very common,' *Délég.*, vol. viii, p. 88, fig. 118.

[2] *Ibid.*, 'bored for suspension, and must have been employed as amulets'. I did not notice any bored specimens out of the profuse quantity found at Abu Shahrain. At the same time, the later Sumerians used inscribed clay 'nails' as amulets in walls (almost always straight, but cf. one of Gudea, *Délég.*, vol. i, p. 314).

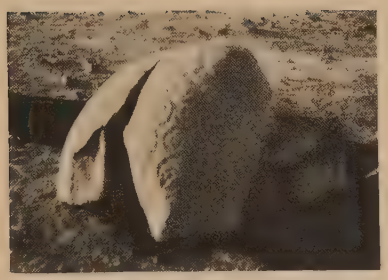


Fig. 12. Part of stone lion, Abu Shahrain.

No. 1. Pl. VIII.

No. 2. Pl. VIII.

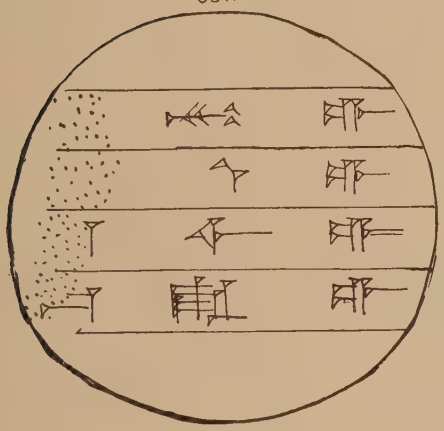
No. 3. Pl. IX, 3rd row (with impression).

No. 4. Pl. IX, 5th row (with impression).

Fig. 14.

B.M. 113910 (UR. 1918-10-12, 458).

OBV.

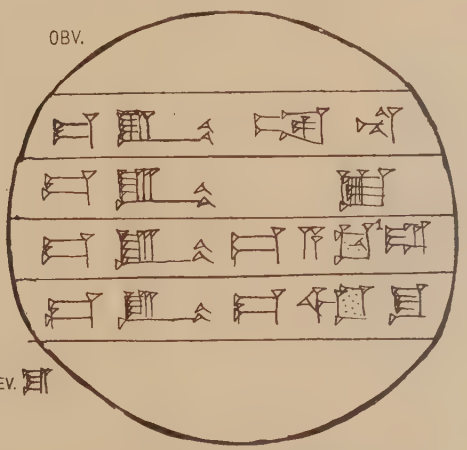


REV.

B.M. 113911 (UR. 1918-10-12, 459).

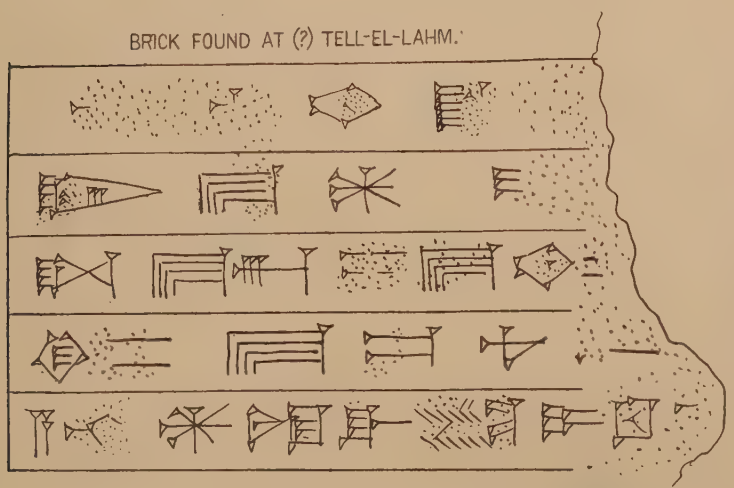
The Reverse is inscribed with the same text.

OBV.



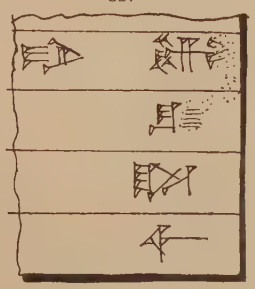
1 REV.

BRICK FOUND AT (?) TELL-EL-LAHM.



B.M. 113912 (UR. 1918-10-12, 460).

OBV



REV.

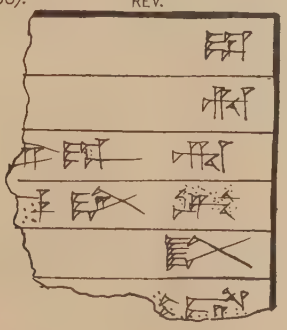


Fig 13. Tablets from Muqaiyar (see pl. VIII, 6th row), and a brick of Nabonidus.

Rawlinson puts it at one mile in thirty years (*Journal of Royal Geogr. Soc.*, vol. xxvii, p. 186). De Morgan (*Les Premières Civilisations*, 1909, pp. 177–8) says that from Kurnah to Fao the land has increased by about 1,700 metres each century, but he rightly adds that it is rash to base calculations on this. He gives an admirable exposition of the probable extent of the headwaters of the Gulf at various times (*Délégation en Perse*, vol. i, p. 1). Classical authority gives the name of a city Τερηδών, on the western side of the Tigris, below its junction with the Euphrates, not far from its mouth (doubtless the same as the Διρίδωτις of Arrian), a great emporium for the traffic with Arabia; Oppert (*Expéd. en Mésop.*, vol. i, p. 269) suggests that Eridu may be the Rata of Ptolemy.

But it is much easier to see in this 'sea' near which Eridu lay, not the Persian Gulf, but part of the great Euphrates lagoons which to this day extend as an enormous shallow lake almost from Nasiriyah to Basrah, and are affected by tides. In flood time the waters reach a point within ten miles of Eridu on the north-east. At the same time it is not quite easy to see how the water can have extended to Eridu without submerging the belt of settlements between Muqaiyar and Judaidah, unless it found its way by some channel between them and thence through the gap in the sandstone ridge. It is, however, quite possible that the variable Euphrates had another bed in those days.

But that the water was fresh, and not salt, is clear from the mussels. There are three classes of shellfish to consider, which Mr. Bullen Newton of the Natural History Museum has very kindly identified for me. The most important are these freshwater mussels, chiefly *Unio cf. tumidus* (occurring in quantities), but once *Anodonta rhomboidea*, both present-day fauna of the Euphrates; the sea shellfish, occurring very rarely, *Alectryonia cf. cucullata* (in trench XIII, 2 at 6′), i. e. a marine oyster, and *Strombus cf. tricornis*, probably from the Persian Gulf (trench XIII, 2); and finally the little freshwater shell of the present-day desert surface as well as in the strata, *Melania tuberculata*. Mr. Newton tells me that the *Strombus* is still to be seen for sale in the Suez market at the present day as an edible mollusc. He also says that the *Melania tuberculata* occurs in similar quantities in the Nile country.

The mussels are found in the prehistoric strata (e. g. trenches XII, 1, from 16′ to 18′; XIV, 1, 4′; XIV, 3, 4′); sea shells are so rare anywhere as to be negligible, and never, as far as I know, occurred in prehistoric deposits. But the freshwater mussels appear to have been a staple form of diet as far back as prehistoric times.

APPENDIX I

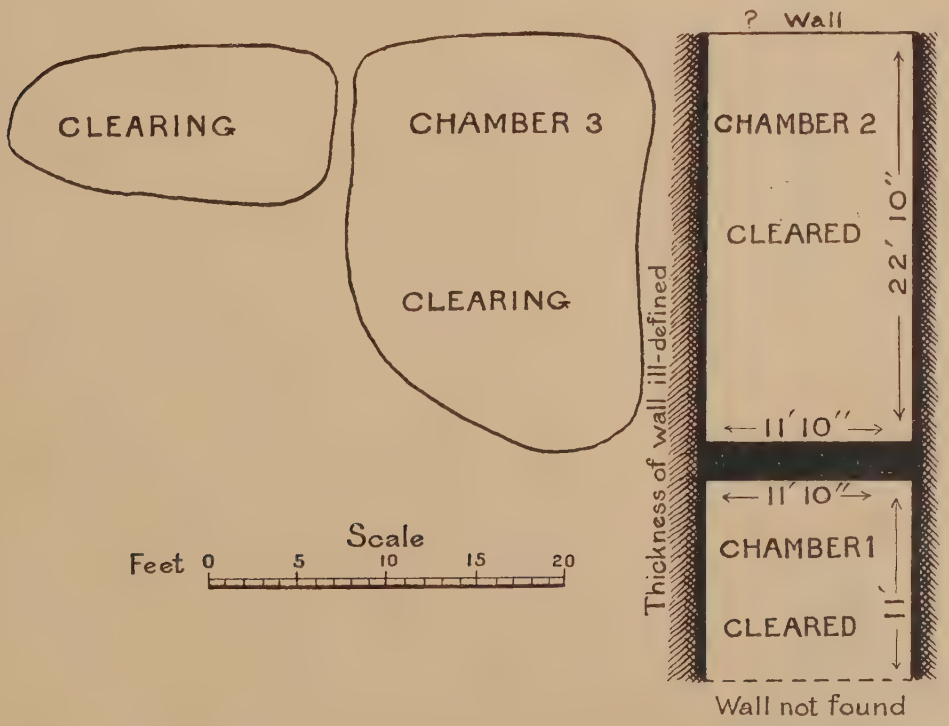
DETAILS OF EXCAVATION OF TRENCHES AT ABU SHAHRAIN

(Note that where 'painted pottery' is mentioned it refers to the black-painted pottery as on fig. 10. Funerary sherds, pots, or cups signify the unturned ware discussed on p. 111)

Trench I, 1. 25′ × 6′. At 6″ mass of rough lumps of limestone or sandstone, possibly paving, but may be débris; small copper (?) nail; piece of copper (?). Pot peg (as pl. X, B). Excavation ceased at 6″.

Trench I, 2. 8′ × 4′. At 6″ same mass of limestone or sandstone as above; piece of limestone squared like a brick 11″ × $5\frac{3}{4}$″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″. At 3′ confused mass of stones and bricks in soil. Excavation ceased.

Chambers 1–3.



Strata of chamber 1 (NE. of *zigurrat*). The chamber was full of wind-blown sand for 3′ depth, at which point we reach the puddled clay débris of fallen walls, etc., one foot higher than in chamber 2.

Strata of chamber 2 (NE. of *zigurrat*). Mound-level 37′ above desert.

Depth.	
6″	Layer of reddish earth 1″ to 6″ thick on surface.
1′	Top of chamber wall of unburnt brick (see pl. V, F). (Bricks ill-made lumps of clay, specimen 6″ × 5″ × 4½″. The clay contains freshwater mussel-shells and spirals.)
2′	Within 1′ of surface, a perfect unturned burial cup in sand (as fig. 4, no. 8).
3′	Four pieces large plain wheel-turned (?) (burial) pot. Fragment coarse pot, black-painted.
4′	Unturned burial cups (two complete, one almost, three in pieces (as fig. 4, no. 8)); plain wheel-turned (?) spouted pot (similar to fig. 4, no. 3, but with a base on which it stood), and two fragments of similar.

Chamber walls. Chamber filled with sand.

5′ to 7′	Nothing of importance.
8′	Three unturned burial cups (as fig. 4, no. 8), small clay phial; a pot-spout. There is apparently a 'pocket' of sand here, which may indicate a disturbance of the puddled clay by burials. Spiral shell (*Melania tuberculata*).
8′ 6″	STRATUM of potsherds. Spiral, freshwater mussel.
9′	STRATUM of ash. Coarse potsherds, one large bone. Spirals.
9′ 6″	STRATUM of ash. Coarse potsherd (the ash has the white appearance of ash formed by burning the local scrub called *t'hâmer*). A mussel-shell (*Unio* cf. *tumidus*).
10′	STRATUM of ash. Coarse potsherds. Spiral.
11′	STRATUM of mussel-shells and potsherds.
12′	

Puddled clay, i.e. débris of ruined chambers, floor, etc., of *libn* bricks now dissolved.

Excavation ceased.

Strata of chamber 3. From 1′ to 7′ drift sand, but puddled clay (débris of *libn* walls) lay thick on E. side. From 1′ to 3′ nothing of importance; at 4′ funerary cup (as fig. 4, no. 8); at 5′ pieces of funerary spouted pot (as fig. 4, no. 3, etc.); at 6′ clay phial (as fig. 4, no. 1), clay 'nail' (as pl. VII, A), funerary cup (as fig. 4, no. 8); at 7′ another clay phial, part of a clay sickle (as pl. VII, A), and a pot-spout (as on fig. 4, no. 3).

At 7′ excavation ceased.

Trench II, 1. 25′ × 6′ (lengthened subsequently).

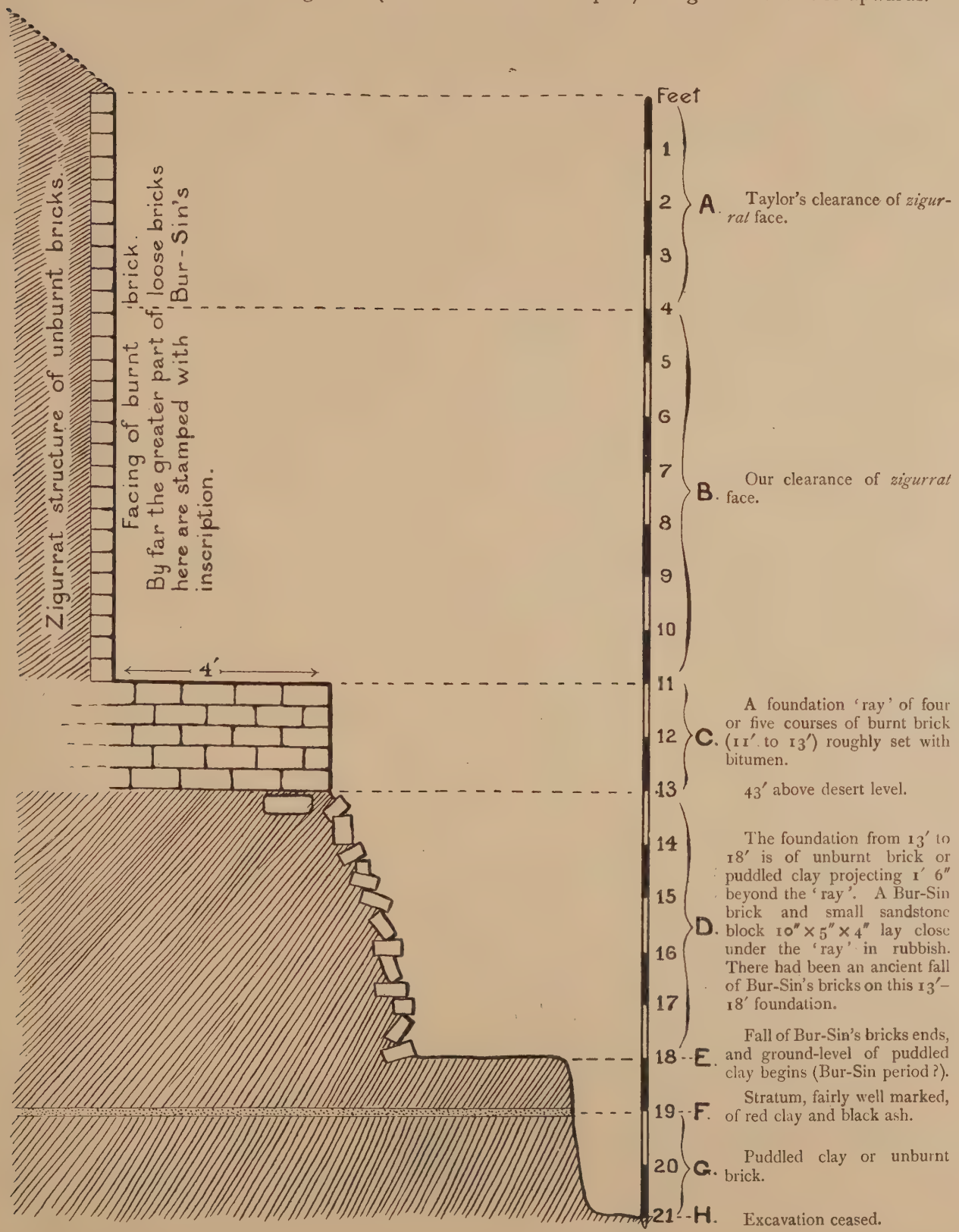
Depth.	
1′	Course of rough lumps of limestone on *libn*, and pink sandstone, running across trench, perhaps connected with city wall. It begins about 6′ from N. end of trench, 21′ long.
	One lump shows fairly good squaring; greatest length 1′ 3″ × 1′ 0½″, broken, × 5½″ thick.
1′ 6″	Flint knife.
2′	Pebble-polished (?) potsherd. On SW. side of the top dressing of stones is a belt of *libn* about 18″ wide.
3′	Red burnt brick not *in situ*, width 6″ × 2⅜″ thick.
	Many pottery pegs (as pl. X, B) at depths 1′ to 3′.

From 1′ to 2′ depth the trench showed much puddled clay.

Excavation ceased.

[So much puddled clay, the remains of dissolved *libn* bricks, appeared at 1′ depth in this trench, that it was early abandoned.]

Excavation on NE. face of *zigurrat* (marked ZIG PIT on plan). Zigurrat continues upwards.



Trench II, 2. 25′ × 6′.

Depth.
6″ Puddled clay except at N. end, where sand lies in a pocket.
1′ Skull of horse (identified by Mr. Pycraft), about $8\frac{1}{2}$″ long.
Two or three unturned burial cups, whole or broken (as fig. 4, no. 8).
Excavation ceased.

[So much puddled clay, the remains of dissolved *libn* bricks, appeared at 1′ depth in this trench, that it was early abandoned.]

Trench II, 3. 25′ × 6′.

Depth.
1′–2′ E. end puddled clay, W. end sand.
3′ Remains of burial; two broken funerary phials (as fig. 4, nos. 1, 20), and two unturned cups (as fig. 4, no. 8), and scattered bones.
Half a basalt hammer-head.
4′ Puddled clay all through; at 5′ excavation ceased.

Trenches III, 1, 2, 3, 4 are unimportant. They all contained puddled clay close to the surface. No. 2 was continued to 7′; 1′ to 2′ 6″ was sand and puddled clay with mussels, with a small unturned pot at 1′ 6″; at 2′ 6″ to 3′ was a belt of puddled clay, and below this four feet of sand. No. 3 produced part of a copper spike or dagger at 2′ (see Appendix VIII).

Trenches IV, 1 and 2, puddled clay at 1′ with mussel-shells and spirals (*Melania tuberculata*). No 1 showed a clay sling-bolt and spindle whorl at 1′, a crystal flake at 2′. Excavation ceased in No. 1 at 2′ 6″ and in No. 2 at 1′.

Trenches V and VI unimportant.

Trenches VII, 1 and 2, unimportant, excavation ceasing at 2′ to 3′. No. 1 was dug inside the wall of rough lumps of limestone which appears here, evidently forming part of the city wall (see pl. V, D).

Trench VIII, 1 A (upper), 35′ above desert level.

Depth.
0′ The WSW. wall of trench showed 6′ or 7′ of sand first, and then unburnt brick.
| The ENE. wall, beginning at a ground-level of 4′ or 5′ below the WSW., met unburnt brick at once.
to At 5′ (3′ sand, 2′ unburnt brick) painted sherd.
| At 6′ (3′ sand, 3′ unburnt brick) clay disc pierced with two holes (as on pl. X, B).
7′ At 7′ (6′ sand, 1′ unburnt brick) cache of mussels and painted sherds. Rough red pot-spout.

7′ Broad stratum of unburnt brick (approximate and variable).
to At 8′ (7′ sand, 1′ unburnt brick) painted sherds; one complete clay sickle and fragment; piece of quern, limestone (?).
10′ Below the above was found a horn (?).
Limit of excavation.

Trench VIII, 1 B (lower pit), 30′ above desert level.

Depth.
1′ to 8′ Unburnt brick *in situ*, of light-coloured clay, each course when discernible barely 3″ thick, containing spiral shells (*Melania tuberculata*). Wind-blown sand in first eighteen inches on one side of trench. Broken unturned funerary cup (as fig. 4, no. 8) at 6′.

Depth.

8′–9′ STRATUM of sand (?), black wood-ash, white ash, bitumen, coarse sherds, mussels (*Unio* cf. *tumidus*), fine rim painted pot.

9′ to 12′ UNBURNT BRICK *in situ*, of dark-coloured clay, bricks (not well-defined) about 3″ thick, mussels (*Unio* cf. *tumidus*), pieces of bitumen. Black-painted sherds, one at 9′ 3″, two at 10′ 6″, one at 11′ 6″ (fig. 11). One sherd, painted red, black, white, at 9′ 3″. One red brick, burnt, not *in situ*, at 10′, size 1′ $4\frac{1}{2}$″ × not less than 6″ × $3\frac{1}{2}$ ($3\frac{1}{4}$)″, apparently not plano-convex, nor like those in the later buttress (p. 117); within it were remains of unopened mussel.

13′ to 14′ SAND, less productive below its top level; mussels not common. Clay 'nail' (as on pl. VII, A, properly at 11′ 3″, but on sand level).
At 12′ buff sherds; flint knife.
At 13′ painted and buff sherds; small lump of bitumen, piece apparently of brick slag; one spiral shell; piece of unturned buff-red rim (fig. 11).
At 14′ painted sherds (fig. 11); buff sherd; rough unturned sherd.
STRATUM of black ash in sand, $\frac{1}{2}$″ thick.

14′–15′ SAND, mussels (*Unio* cf. *tumidus*) frequent. At 15′ painted sherds.

STRATUM of black ash in sand.

15′ 6″ to 17′ 6″ SAND, apparently no mussels.
At 15′ 6″ buff sherds; painted sherds (fig. 11).
At 16′ 6″ painted sherd; coarse sherd (not funerary).
At 17′ small piece apparently indubitable burnt brick, pink inside, yellow exterior.
Limit of excavation. Virgin sand (?).

Trench VIII, 2. The main interest of this trench is the massive *libn* wall or foundation, at least 50′ long and 14′ 6″ wide, of which the top lies level with the surrounding ground. On the eastern face (where the eastern trench abuts) at the SE. end it is 4′ high above a flooring (?) or mass of débris of *libn*. Otherwise, of course, the trenches showed sand, and here in this softer element burials had been made. At 1′ was a small footless clay phial (2″ long), one unturned cup and bowl (as fig. 4, nos. 8 and 10), and seven spouts. At 2′ three funerary bowls (as fig. 4, no. 10), one on top of another upside down, and at 3′ (to one side of these) two footless clay phials (fig. 4, no. 1). There were traces of bones near. Not far off in the same trench at 2′ four funerary cups (as fig. 4, no. 8), one foot away from the wall, with bones near them also. At 4′ a small dish containing red paint (fig. 4, no. 15). At 8′ (in sand) a small pot made like an inverted cone.

In the offshoot of this trench towards the *zigurrat* was a spouted pot (as fig. 4, no. 7) at 3′, with bones near, probably human. At 4′ one of the stone pegs.

Trench VIII, 3. Within the first foot lumps of sandstone or limestone above a Bur-Sin brick. At 2′ a clay sickle.

Trench IX, see p. 137.

Trench X, 1. 50′ × 6′. Almost everywhere lumps of limestone or sandstone. Fragment of human skull at 6″. At 2′ many pottery pegs, and two funerary bowls (as fig. 4, no. 10) upside down.

Trench X, 2. At 6″ rough pavement of two or three layers of burnt bricks, including those of Bur-Sin.

Trench XI, A.

Depth.

1′–2′ SURFACE SOIL.

3′–5′ (3 feet) PUDDLED CLAY, i. e. rainwash from *zigurrat*, denoting period after facing had fallen in ruins. No mussels.

6′–12′ (7 feet) WIND-BLOWN SAND, denoting period of desertion after final occupation, before *zigurrat* began to decay. Very few remains in this. Spiral shells, no mussels. At 8′ base of funerary cup (as fig. 4, no. 5); at 9′ red and buff sherds, and painted sherd; at 9′ 6″ funerary cup sherd (as fig. 4, no. 8). At 12′ part of a bowl.

12′ 6″ STRATUM of unburnt bricks *in situ*, each 3″ thick, doubtless marking latest restoration, probably Bur-Sin, *c.* 2400 B. C.

(13′–16′) (3 feet) WIND-BLOWN SAND, denoting period of desertion (?) before Bur-Sin (?).

13′ Buff sherds, one or two painted sherds; sherd incised with waves.

13′ 6″ Pottery peg (as on pl. X, B); another similar, but hollow; buff sherds; funerary sherds.

15′ Flat disc bored clay (fig. 11); flint core; red pot-spout; buff sherd, incised herring-bone (fig. 11). Sea (?)-shell.

SKELETON of sacrificed *bos celticus*, doubtless buried when 12′ 6″ stratum was laid. Two pieces funerary pot (as fig. 4, no. 8). Mussel-shells, clay peg.

15′ 6″ to 16′ Red and buff sherds; pieces of clay sickle and painted sherds; five pieces pot, incised herring-bone (three with small lugs); flint core; many funerary sherds. Lower grinder (limestone).

16′ to 18′ (2 feet) PUDDLED CLAY, i. e. rainwash (?) from *zigurrat* (?), indicating period of decay (?), containing apparently an interval of sand. Mussels and spiral shells. The absence of bricks in débris below this point may indicate that the *zigurrat* was not faced with burnt brick before 2500 B. C. The upper level of this *may* be period of Entemena (*c.* twenty-ninth century B. C.).

At 16′ buff pot-neck, with incised crosses (fig. 11).

At 17′ 6″ mussels; heavy buff sherds; large painted dish (fig. 11) and two painted sherds; spouted funerary pot (buff); part of clay sickle.

At 18′ flint or chert core; buff sherds $\frac{7}{8}$″ thick; spouted pot of reddish clay (fig. 4, no. 2). Limestone quern (or part of statue) $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

19′ to 20′ 6″ WIND-BLOWN SAND, indicating desertion (?) previous to Entemena (?). Spiral shells and mussels.

At 19′ two or three pairs of horns, doubtless connected with the *bos* at 15′, as there was a pocket of sand in the unburnt brick above, which may have caused the fall of the horns. Spouted sherd. Buff sherds, one with traces of black; sherd unturned, incised waves; sherd incised parallel lines; funerary sherd.

At 20′ fragment of base of fine cream-coloured pot, wheel-turned; about fifty fragments of coarse cream, buff, and reddish pottery, one $\frac{7}{8}$″ thick; fragment small bowl, cream clay, probably unturned; round base, buff, wheel-turned (fig. 4, no. 11); six painted sherds (see fig. 11).

20′ 6″ to 21′ 6″ PUDDLED CLAY.

At 21′ apparently funerary sherds; handle, buff pot; buff sherds.

Limit of excavation.

Trench XI, B. 42′ above surrounding desert.

Depth.

0″ to 6″ WIND-BLOWN SAND.

6″ to 6′ PUDDLED CLAY, i. e. rainwash from *zigurrat*, denoting period after facing had fallen in ruins. It contains sand, limestone lumps, old bricks, bitumen, spiral shells, pottery pegs, and one fragment of mussel. At the bottom of the mass bricks with Bur-Sin's inscription from the *zigurrat* not *in situ*. At 3′ small unturned (?) red pot, not funerary kind; rounded disc of stone bored with two holes.

6′ to 10′ 6″ WIND-BLOWN SAND with spiral shells, denoting period of desertion.
At 7′ buff sherds; painted sherd; funerary sherds.
At 8′ on N. side of pit trivial stratum of puddled clay 6″ to 1′ broad, mussels and fragments of burnt brick; funerary sherd.
At 9′ red and buff sherds.

11′ to 12′ 6″ STRATUM of ash about 1½″ thick, but varying in level; it corresponds to equivalent in XI, A, the stratum of unburnt brick. 6″ to 1′ below this ash funerary sherds; bones; bone pin. No mussels visible in clay.
At 12′ buff pot rim, buff sherds. Piece of green felspar.
From about 11′ 6″ to 13′ puddled clay.
At 13′ two fairly thick buff sherds, finger-made, apparently once red. Top of flat rim.

Limit of excavation.

Trench XII, 1. 19′ above desert level.

Depth.

0′ to 2′ WIND-BLOWN SAND. Occasional buff sherds.

2′ to 10′ 6″ UPPER PUDDLED CLAY. It is difficult to distinguish light-coloured clay from dark, but apparently 2′–3′ light-coloured, succeeded by a darker. From 2′ to 7′ occasional mussels.
At 2′ to 3′ stratum, one painted sherd; small lump burnt brick; bitumen.
At 3′ 6″ spiral shell.
At 4′ painted sherds, and painted spout; two flint cores, and flakes.
At 5′ painted rimmed dish; two cores and flint flake.
At 6′ clay 'nail'; trunk (?) of some beast (?) in clay.
At 7′ painted sherd.
At 7′ 6″ cache of mussels (specimen taken, *Unio* cf. *tumidus*, Retzius), two spirals (*Melania tuberculata*, Müller), plain and painted sherds (fig. 11), and two bottoms of buff pot. Chert (?) flake. Limestone or sandstone door-socket (1′ × 8½″ × 4″, top flat, bottom convex); clay sickle. At 8′ 6″ painted spout.

10′ 6″ to 16′ 6″ At 9′ clay sickle; painted sherds.
LOWER (DARKER) PUDDLED CLAY, brick layers difficult to define.
At 11′ 6″ numerous mussels; painted sherds (thick and thin); buft and red sherds; handle of clay sickle. Limestone quern; fragment of clay nail.
At 12′ handle of pot with traces of black (fig. 11); buff unturned sherds; painted sherds.
At 12′ 6″ numerous mussels (specimen, *Unio* cf. *tumidus*); two painted sherds.
At 13′ many painted sherds; piece of clay sickle; flint flake.
At 13′ 6″ painted sherds.
At 14′ mussels; painted sherds (one with large lug); reddish unturned sherds ¾″ thick; piece of clay sling-stone; bitumen whorl; fine large knife of black obsidian (fig. 11); fragment obsidian flake.
At 14′ 6″ stratum thick with mussels (*Unio* cf. *tumidus*).
At 16′ painted sherds; large lug-like painted handle. Mussels in lower part, no spirals.

Depth.

16′ 6″ SAND. No spirals.

| At 17′ lump of flint, flint core; two obsidian flakes; painted sherds (fig. 11); mussels,
to fish vertebra; limestone quern; crystal and quartzite (?) pins (pl. IX, 8th row, 10, 14).
| At 18′ painted sherds; two flints; sparse traces of mussels, no spirals.

18′ 6″ Possibly virgin sand.

Limit of excavation.

Trench XII, 2.

First $2\frac{1}{2}$′ sand; clay sickle at 2′ 6″; 3′ to 4′ 6″ puddled clay; part of clay sickle at 4′.

Limit of excavation.

Trench XII, 3 (E. of XII, 2).

First 3′ 6″ sand. Within 2′ of surface, flint implements and three ground axe-heads.

At 2′ ground serpentine axe-head; small cubed hammer-stone (?); two pieces of clay sickle; flint and obsidian flakes; piece of well-made pink sandstone bowl; little copper (?) nail; stone pin (pl. IX, 8th row, 20).

At 3′ painted sherds.

At 4′ small limestone door-socket or quern. Piece of clay sickle, two burial phials (as fig. 4, no. 1), and flint points (pl. IX, 7th row, 1, 4, 13, 18).

At 5′ limestone door-socket or grinder, better than preceding.

Trench XII, 4 (between XII, 1 and XIII, 1).

Unimportant; at 1′ unburnt bricks; flint cores; one ground axe-head.

Trench XIII.

These three pits, XIII, 1, 2, 3, were cut across a well-marked depression which I believe marked the inside of a building with walls of unbaked brick. Sand had settled in it to some considerable depth, and we found the usual Sumerian interments of turned (?) and unturned pots, etc. (as fig. 4, nos. 2, 8).

Pit XIII, 1.

At 1′ depth in the sand was a cache of broken potsherds which formed a kind of niche or grotto to receive burials. These burials were hardly more than two or three feet from the wall of unbaked brick which lies to the south of the building, and it is clear that those who buried these pots preferred the soft sand to dig in rather than the hard clay.

Within or near this niche were:

(*a*) Large, light-coloured, unturned clay vessel on its side (at 2′) (fig. 4, no. 6).

(*b*) Within two feet of (*a*), a reddish funerary pot (as fig. 4, no. 8), lying on its side.

(*c*) Human teeth and fragments of bone near.

(*d*) A spouted light-coloured pot, almost on its base, but tilted over.

(*e*) Close by, ten unturned funerary bowls (as on fig. 4, no. 10), for the most part in good condition.

At 3′ depth in the sand, i. e. two feet below the above, and two feet to the west, was a similar cache of broken pots containing bones and seven unturned bowls (as fig. 4, no. 10), and a small clay phial about 4′ (fig. 4, no. 19).

At 3′ to 4′, in sand about six feet north of the above cache, two large spouted unturned pots of light-coloured clay, lying on their sides (fig. 4, nos. 3, 4). Slight trace of bones.

At 4′ another similar spouted pot, and two little clay phials with lips (fig. 4, nos. 17, 18).

Trench XIII, 2.

Depth.

SAND.

1′ Large plain yellow bowl, wheel-turned (?), broken, and unturned funerary cup (as fig. 4, no. 8), obviously a burial, although no bones found.

2′–3′

4′ Large plain unturned pot, broken: neck found subsequently. Part of human (?) thigh.

5′ At 4′ 6″ *libn* or puddled clay begins, and continues down below our lowest excavation. Mussel on top of *libn* (*Unio* cf. *tumidus*. Retzius).

6′ Mussel-shells (specimens, *Unio* cf. *tumidus*); one or two large coarse marine spirals (*Strombus* cf. *tricornis*, Lamarck), and also on the *libn* about this depth a marine oyster-shell (*Alectryonia* cf. *cucullata*, Born). Part of clay sickle and flint flake.

Small lump of what appears to be bituminous material, described for me by Mr. Bullen Newton, 'dark carbonaceous rock containing wood structures', its appearance 'indicating petroleum characters'. Tooth of pig (Sus).

Limit of excavation.

Trench XIII, 3.

Depth.

1′–5′ 6″ Sand, in which was a ground stone axe at 2′.

5′ 6″ *Libn.*

Limit of excavation.

Trench XIII, 4 (E. corner of mound).

A burnt brick not *in situ*, pierced through, at 1′, a piece of copper (?) at 2′, and a burial with an unturned funerary pot (as fig. 4, no. 8); and at 3′ a paving (?) of rough-hewn limestone lumps, probably part of a wall.

Trench XIV, 1.

Depth.

0′–1′ 6″ SOFTISH DARK EARTH.

At 1′ piece of bone implement (pl. IX, 4th row, 16), and slight indication of stratum of sherds.

At 1′ 6″ one spiral.

1′ 6″ PUDDLED CLAY WITH MUSSELS.

At 2′ mussels; painted sherd with bored lug, and six painted sherds.

At 3′ pointed bone implement (pl. IX, 4th row, 19).

At 4′ large freshwater mussel (*Anodonta rhomboidea*, Lea); little bowl (fig. 4, no. 12); rough piece of basin, unturned, clay, black inside, surface reddish; buff and red sherds, and buff lip, unturned (?); coarse brown unturned sherd, two holes bored; piece of large buff dish, rim up-turned, not wheel-turned; rough pot tube 4″ × 1 $\frac{3}{10}$″; six clay nails (one never having had a head, and another with very small head); two cubed limestone pounders (?) or mullers, one of flint (?); five pieces of clay

to sickles; flint hoe; flat piece of marble (?) squared roughly (4″ × 4″ and $\frac{3}{4}$″ thick), all edges chamfered; beautifully ground axe-head of serpentine; obsidian flake. (See fig. 11 for some of these.)

At 5′ chert hoe; two complete clay sickles and two pieces (all with traces of bitumen on handle); buff dish, broken, part colander, with black lines; piece dish, black lines; two small cubed mullers; painted sherds; one bitumen whorl and pieces of bitumen; buff sherd; piece of reddish dish. (See fig. 11 for some of these.)

At 6′ painted sherds; pieces of buff pot, which might be Sumerian, but much has traces of black paint; red sherds; coarse brown sherd.

7′ At 7′ painted sherds; bent bitumen whorl.

Depth.
7′–9′ 6″ SAND, containing at 8′ painted sherds; buff unturned sherd; and at 9′ and 9′ 6″ painted sherd (see fig. 11).
Limit of excavation at apparently virgin sand.

Trench XIV, 2.

Depth.
1′ PUDDLED CLAY.
| About 2′ two bone implements (pl. IX, 4th row, 17, 18); spindle whorl; painted sherds (all within three feet of surface).
to At 3′ two pieces of clay sickles; one unturned red sherd, and red pot lip; three
| painted sherds.
5′ At 4′ piece of clay sickle.
Limit of excavation.

Trench XIV, 3.

Depth.
0′ PUDDLED CLAY.
| At 1′ a wall of unburnt brick, distinguishable in the mass of sand, clay, etc., rising to within 6″ of surface. Bricks $2\frac{1}{2}$″ to 3″ thick. When ruined it fell apparently in lumps to NE. The face is approximately east. A six-inch-thick belt of black
to rain-borne puddled clay lies over the remains of the wall. Painted sherds.
| At 4′ old level under above-mentioned wall shows belt of ashes 1′ thick containing mussels and potsherds. At 4′ the large painted pottery object (fig. 11, A.S. 384).
| Clay sling-stone on house wall at 2′.
6′ 6″ At 6′ jawbone of fish; flint flake; buff sherds.

6′ 6″ SAND.
to At 7′ painted sherds; buff sherds; one flint flake.
11′ Probably virgin sand below 7′.
Limit of excavation.

Trench XIV, 4.

Depth.
0′ HARD CLAY SOIL OR PUDDLED CLAY.
| At 2′ large clay bowl with lug handles, apparently containing husks of corn (see pl. X, A, 1, and fig. 4, no. 16), and two human teeth near it. Painted sherd (fig. 11).
to Baked clay animal (pl. VIII, 6th row).
| At 4′ reddish sherd; rim with traces of paint; long and high dish, painted (fig. 11);
4′ rim of unturned pot bored with hole; bone point.

4′ 6″ STRATUM of ash, potsherds and fragments of burnt brick.

4′ 6″ PUDDLED CLAY.
to At 5′ five clay sling-stones (see pl. VIII), two clay whorls; complete rim of buff
5′ 6″ wheel-turned (??) pot; buff plain and buff painted sherds.

5′ 6″ SAND WITHOUT SHELLS.
to At 6′ clay (?) spindle whorl, clay sling-stones; piece of clay sickle; three coarse
7′ sherds.
Limit of excavation.

Trench XV, 1.
Dug to 4′ or 5′, sand only; small layer of earth and rubbish on top.

Trench XV, 2.

Dug to 3′ or 4′, same result as above.

North-west mound. A low mound about half a mile to the north-west of Abu Shahrain, about 200 yards in diameter. On the surface are visible lumps of sandstone (or limestone), brick-slag, plain potsherds, rarely pieces of alabaster bowls, clay pegs, and a few flint flakes. At least two large pots *in situ* flush with the ground-level; and I also found a fairly large piece of copper or bronze. The rain one morning had marked out the plan of several buildings.

South-east mound. A low mound one mile distant, covering an area of about 400 × 400 yds.

Superficial finds:

Two large pot bases 10″ and $10\frac{3}{4}$″.

Baked bricks $12\frac{1}{2}$″ square × $2\frac{1}{2}$″ thick.

Libn (puddled clay) showing débris of buildings appears below surface.

Broken lion of basalt (fig. 12). There were about a dozen pieces of a large basalt lion, one of which at least had been used as a door-socket. The lion cannot be pre-Sumerian.

No black-painted pottery visible. Possibly stone implements, but even so, not frequent.

Burials

(*a*) Pot ('bath') burial near SE. mound; the pot-coffin roughly circular, 2′ 2″ diam. and 14″ deep. Rim projected above surface; bones at the bottom of the coffin. No lid. No pots for offerings.

(*b*) Clay coffin ('bath') (?), burial 100 yards south of southern slope, outside the mound. Top flush with ground-level. Marked by a thin and brittle limestone slab on top, and potsherds marking the old coffin (?) Bones about 1′ to 2′ deep, but I could not discover the skull. Approximately N.–S.

(*c*) *Burial near SE. gate* (*in mound*). Apparently a burial was made close to surface on the top of the slope of the wall which forms SW. part of the defile composing the gate. It was found by a small Arab boy, who brought in to me the large pot (pl. X, A, 4, and fig. 4, no. 5) which formed the chief funerary offering, and I did not see it opened first. It was, however, reconstructed and photographed. There were three pots, one of which was an unturned funerary cup (as fig. 4, no. 8), all on a flooring of a mass of broken potsherds. The bones were near them.

(*d*) Burial near SW. gate (outside mound), E. of trench IX. 'Bath-tub' burial coffin of baked clay, both ends rounded, lying approximately E.–W., 3′ 3″ × 2′ 7″ (inside) × 1′ 5″ deep (but bottom broken out), 2″–3″ thick. At bottom some dark grey ash about 1′ thick, and small piece of burnt bone.

APPENDIX II

OTHER (SURFACE) FINDS AT ABU SHAHRAIN

I. *Sumerian*

Rough-hewn block of basalt on NE. side 5′ × 2′ 8″ (see pl. V, E). Two other portions near, 2′ 10″ × 1′ 10″, and 1′ × 1′ 8″.

Large mass of blue-white granite near; greatest length 3′. These were all on the SE. slope of the wady running to the NE. gate.

Squared white and grey marble block, not in position, but evidently from *zigurrat* staircase, 1′ 7″ × 10″ × $4\frac{1}{4}$″.

The stone lion seen by Taylor and noted on his map must not be forgotten. It is not on the mound now, and Hamud told me that some eight years previously Sa'adun, chief of the Muntafik, had tried to remove it, but did not succeed, and it is possible that it lies buried near the N. side of the mound.

Of smaller objects other than those mentioned several pieces of lapislazuli were picked up.

More curious were (*a*) the tapering clay tubes or *cornets*, (*b*) the tapering clay pegs (as pl. X, B), (*c*) stone pegs. For (*a*), compare the *cornet* from Susa, De Morgan, *Délég.*, xiii, p. 8, 9, a class which he says was always found in women's graves (of the earliest period), some containing mineral remains. We never found them in prehistoric levels. The class (*b*) varied in measurement from less than 2″ to 7″ or 8″, and some had black paint on the base. Loftus says that he found a wall decorated with these, thrust up to the head and arranged in patterns (*Travels*, p. 188). I cannot believe that this was their original object; they may have been used for countless purposes. They do not appear in the lower levels, and were found frequently among the limestone lumps round the *zigurrat*. The transverse holes neatly bored in some of the bricks indicate one use for the smaller ones, that they were to be used instead of mortar; but it is not impossible that the red sandstone pegs, of which we found several, were for decoration. E. J. Banks (*Bismya*, p. 415) notes similar clay pegs from Warka.

Other finds were:

(*d*) Mace-heads (pl. VIII).

(*e*) Cylindrical object (diam. about $2\frac{1}{3}$″), white stone with pattern of inserted black discs.

II. *Later period* (*casual ?*)

Two fragments of green glass (pl. IX, 5th row, 13, 14), and half of a blue opaque glass drop (pl. IX, 5th row, 11).

Probably near surface in burial, towards SE. mound, green glazed pot (fig. 4, no. 14).

APPENDIX III

WEATHER AT ABU SHAHRAIN

I was at Abu Shahrain from 10th April until 8th May 1918. The mound shows evidence in the past of torrential rains which are gradually washing the *zigurrat* away. While I was there a heavy thunderstorm came on us on 14th April (another had visited us a few days before), and the water lay in sheets in the desert and collected in pools in the holes in the mound. There was a hailstorm on 18th April and a thick duststorm on the 20th, which almost obscured the mound from us, barely eighty yards distance. On the 23rd a squally gale from SE. all day, although decreasing after noon, was very trying, and next day a SW. wind sprang up at 4.30 p.m., coming up with a great belt of cloud against a NE. wind. It was most violent for about five or ten minutes, and nearly carried away our tents. On 2nd May the sun was beginning to be hot, the heat lasting until 5 p.m., when a storm came up from the south with hailstones of 2″ diameter.

APPENDIX IV

TEST-EXCAVATIONS AT MUQAIYAR

Muqaiyar, or Ur of the Chaldees, is the largest mound of all those which I visited, and comparatively near civilization; it measures about two miles in perimeter,[1] is ovoid in plan,

[1] According to Taylor, *loc cit.*, 'round the top' 2,946 yards, and the length 1,056. I paced it round the base. He is right in explaining Muqaiyar as meaning 'the bitumened', from the bitumen used as mortar in the *zigurrat*.

and it rises twelve to twenty feet above the plain. Its *zigurrat*, or temple-tower, uplifts its head another fifty feet in the northern portion, and is composed of a crude brick core faced with burnt bricks. North-east of the mound for the area of a square mile are abundant traces of occupation on the desert, i. e. bricks, potsherds, flint flakes, corn-pounders, etc., and graves.

Historical sketch of Ur. Taylor discovered here the Temple to Sin, the Moon-god, who was patron deity of the town. About 2900 B.C. a king of Lagash (Telloh) claims to have conquered Erech and Ur, and henceforward the history of Ur fluctuates between suzerainty (under the Dynasty of Ur, about the middle of the third millennium B.C.) and vassalage to other cities. But always pious kings would restore the Temple : thus did Ur-Engur and Dungi (the two earliest kings of the Dynasty of Ur), and Enannatum (brother of the king of Isin, *c.* 2274 B.C.) became its chief priest. Sin-idinnam (king of Larsa, *c.* 2181 B.C.) restored the temple, and Warad-Sin (*c.* 2167), built the city rampart, which was doubtless a thorn in the side of Samsu-iluna, a king of Babylon eighty years later, when he attacked Ur. Even down to the later Babylonian empire it continued in high honour, and Nabonidus, king of Babylon 555–539 B.C., dedicated his daughter, Bêl-shâlṭi-Nannar, to its guild of votaries.

Finds at Muqaiyar. Two lines of trenches (I and II) to the E.—NE. of the *zigurrat*—resulted in unprofitable masses of dissolved *libn*, and as my time was short I abandoned them.

In I, 3 we found a little blue glazed pottery bead.

A third line of trenches (III, each 21′ × 6′ with similar intervals) was more successful. These were dug in the ridge forming the northern slope of the small *wadi* which traverses the mound ENE. to WSW., dividing it unequally.

III. WSW. ▭ 6 ▭ 5 ▭ 4 ▭ 3 ▭ 2 ▭ 1 ▭ 1 A ▭ 1 B ENE.

Finds :

III, 1, B. Nothing of importance, but the ground here was barely scratched.

III, 1, A. A grave at 18″ depth on N. side.

Mat-burial, the skeleton having been wrapped in a mat, the whole less than 2′ in length. Skeleton lying on left side, apparently with hands under head, body contracted in 'embryonic' position, head approximately to east. Near head towards S. was a little round-bellied waterpot (fig. 5, no. 6), and at W. end, turned upside down on the bones, was a basin (fig. 4, no. 22). Both of light-coloured clay, wheel-turned, unornamented. Nose-ring of silver (?) similar to that of modern Arabs near head, and two plain silver-copper bracelets on arms (one of which latter was analysed, see Appendix VIII ; pl. IX, 3rd row).

Pit dug to 2′ only.

III, 1. (*a*) At 1′ depth, a fragment of green-glazed pot (pl. IX, 2nd row, 5). There had evidently been a grave at 18″ at NE. end, as we found bones with a plain baked pot (fig. 4, no. 23) and plate. Much broken pottery at 18″ to 3′, and three pieces of cuneiform tablets (one circular) of about 2000 B.C. or earlier, and piece of fine tablet clay.

(*b*) At 2′ depth, a clay-coffin burial, approximately E.–W.

The coffin was the usual bath-shape, such as is found at Tell el-Lahm, and even in some pre-dynastic Egyptian burials. Size 3′ × 1′ 10″ (× 11½″ deep), baked clay sides 1″ thick. Apparently no waterpot as offering, but one plain basin was found.

(*c*) At 4′ depth, various pots (fig. 4, nos. 21, 24, 26, 29), evidently from graves ; a circular tablet of clay inscribed with cuneiform, and fragments of tablet clay mixed with an ancient layer of pottery fragments, marking the old contour of the mound. (These circular tablets are merely 'learners' tablets', repeating a copy ; similar tablets are discussed in Chiera, *List of Personal Names*, Univ. of Penns., vol. xi, no. 1, p. 45.)

In an annexed cut to this trench a clay whorl at 1′ about 4′ to S.

Pit dug to 5′.

III, 2 (with small annexed cut to N.).

(*a*) At 1′, pavement of *libn* bricks (layer). Area uncovered 7′ 6″ × 3′. A small uninscribed fragment of tablet clay.

(*b*) At 18″ to 3′ much broken buff pottery.

(*c*) At 3′ two circular cuneiform tablets, *c.* 2000 B.C. (pl. VIII, 6th row and fig. 13); piece of base of large pot properly bored, hole 1″ diam.

(*d*) At 4′ almost complete pot about 10″ high, $8\frac{1}{2}$″ diam. (fig. 5, no. 19). A fragment of tortoise-shell (?), and fragments of cuneiform tablets, *c.* 2000 B.C. (pl. VIII, 6th row, 1; fig. 13).

Pit dug to 4′.

III, 3. (*a*) At 18″ an ancient 'throw-out' of at least fifty bottoms of vases of thick, cream-coloured, undecorated ware (type, fig. 4, nos. 25, 27; fig. 5, no. 12), some with holes in the bottom. Mixed with them was débris of burnt bricks. A thick piece of copper (?).

(*b*) At 2′ at W. end two inscribed bricks; they had been stamped with an unusually small stamp, but were illegible. A piece of cuneiform tablet (*c.* 2000 B.C.), and part of blank tablet.

(*c*) At 3′, running approximately NE. and SW., a double line of bricks in three courses, set without mortar but with matting and mud between.

Between these lines at 3′ at N. side were fragments of pots (fig. 5, no. 12), a human jaw, and bones all broken up. Half a hollow pottery rattle (?) (fig. 5, no. 8). A brick impressed twice with a double crescent 𒌍 (fig. 3, no. 1).

Trench dug to 4′.

III, 4. Within first 3′ a burnt brick.

Pit dug to 6′. Traces of occupation continuing.

III, 5. (*a*) At 1′ a copper curved object (see Appendix VIII) and a copper (?) needle (pl. IX, 3rd row); at 6″ a piece of prehistoric painted (black *or* red) pottery (pl. IX, 2nd row, 2).

(*b*) At 3′–4′ pots (fig. 3, no. 2, and fig. 4, no. 28; fig. 5, nos. 1, 2), a bored shell, and bored stone (fig. 5, no. 7).

(*c*) At 5′ fragments of plain pot. Fragment of a small copper (?) ring (since untraced).

(*d*) At 6′ fragment of copper (?).

Dug to 6′. Traces of occupation continuing.

III, 6. (*a*) at 18″ top of roughly-made brick wall, running approximately NE. and SW. Bricks burnt, of different size, and stuck in with mud.

(*b*) At 2′ a pot-ring as a stand for a pot (*cf.* fig. 5, no. 17).

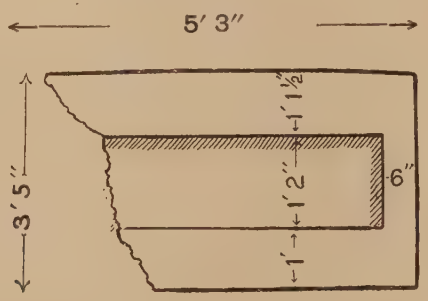
Two flat plates of copper stuck together, 4″ diameter (see Appendix VIII).

(*c*) At 3′, in an annexed cut to W., a small rough clay figure.

(*d*) At 1′, in an annexed cut to S., remains of a large pot grave (mouth to NW.).

Superficial objects on the mound were:

Large stone (probably limestone) coffer or coffin, not far from *zigurrat.*



Limestone sarcophagus seen from above. 10″ deep inside: 1′ 4″ deep outside.

Remains of a basalt statue, very much broken, to the SE. of the mound.
Brick with imprint of foot of dog or wolf.
Two broken bricks with inscription of Nabonidus (see fig. 6).
Flint flakes, saws, etc. (prehistoric) (pl. IX, 1st row). Cf. Koldewey, *Excav. at Babylon*, p. 241.
Small copper (?) objects, arrow-head, etc. (3rd row, at end).
Handle of clay sickle (*prehistoric*) (3rd row, 1); clay whorl (2nd row, 8).
Painted geometrical pottery fragments (*prehistoric*) (2nd row, 1–4).
Green-glazed pot (2nd row, 6).
Mace-head in white marble (?) (2nd row, 7).
Fragment of ivory and of glass (3rd row, 4 and 3).
Fragment of cylinder seal (3rd row, 5, 6).
} Pl. IX.
Bone marked with five holes (pl. IX, 3rd row).
Part of basalt bowl (fig. 5, no. 18).
Part of clay stand (fig. 5, no. 3).
Part of clay animal (fig. 5, no. 16).

APPENDIX V

RESULTS OF A TOUR ROUND SOME OF THE SMALLER MOUNDS SOUTH OF NASIRIYAH AND THE EUPHRATES MARSHES

(See sketch-map (fig. 1), and for measurements of bricks, Appendix VI).

1. *Tell Tuwaiyil:* about 350 × 100 yards, height about 12′. Surface showed burnt bricks and a lump of sandstone about 8″ × 6″ × 4″; four or five pieces of basalt.

Tell el-Lahm, Abu Rasain, and Muqaiyar are all visible from here.

2. *Murajib:* about 400 × 150 yards, height about 12′. Poor mound which has been used as an Arab graveyard. Pieces of large waterpot, pieces of basalt, and small clay figure of mother-goddess.

3. *Abu Rasain* ('Father of two heads', perhaps from its two knolls): about 150 (200) × 150 yards, height about 16′. Two holes previously dug. Surface showed burnt brick, pieces of basalt (one a half-sphere like a cricket-ball), sandstone door-socket (about 100 lb. in weight), serpentine (?); copper (?) needle and copper fragments. Much plain pottery, and two pieces with black painted ornament.

4. Unnamed mound 'A': about 400 × 200 yards, height about 12′. One hole previously dug. Surface showed a wall of burnt brick approximately N.–S. Much plain pottery, some with traces of black painted band. Wheel-turned grey clay pan-base 12″ diam., depth 2″. Limestone and basalt fragments, and close conglomerate fragments (like a lime composite). Traces of haematite. Two beads; fragment of copper.

5. *Tell el-Lahm:* mound perimeter about 1,200 yards, height about 20′ to 25′. About 50 yards to NE. is a low ridge 400 yards long marking habitation. Many traces of occupation on plain to NE. Surface of mound showed plain wheel-turned pottery with evidences of manufacture superior to preceding four mounds. Fragments painted in black stripes. Rare inscribed bricks; limestone lumps, and door-socket, copper (?) fragments, and arrow-head, clay animal (fig. 5, no. 14). Taylor's (?) shaft in NW. of mound 12′ × 12′ (× 20′ deep).

I picked up an inscribed brick much damaged, which appears to be one of Nabonidus (fig. 6).

At the camp at Tell el-Lahm was another brick, possibly from the ruins, but it was rumoured, if I remember rightly, that it had been brought from Muqaiyar. It is the same as the text in W.A.I. I, 68, 6 (from Muqaiyar): (1) [^{du}*Nabû-n*]*a-'-id* [*šarru dannu* (*?*)] (2) *šar Babili* [^{ki}] (3) *ša E-nun- . . E-ḫi- . . .* (4) *ki-rib E-giš-šir-gal* (5) *a-na Nin-gal bêlti-šu i-pu-*[*šu*]. 'Nabonidus, the powerful (?) king, king of Babylon, who hath built E-nun-[maḫ ?], E-ḫi[liṣi ?] in E-gišširgal for Ningal, his lady' (fig. 13).

After I returned home Captain O. Mather, who was stationed at Tell el-Lahm, subsequently very kindly sent me a photograph of a brick of Bur-Sin (*c.* 2400 B.C.) from that place. It was one of several forming the top of a well (made of pot cylinders each about 18″ diam. and height 2′ 6″, descending about 12′) at 1′ depth below surface. The translation runs: 'Bur-Sin, proclaimed in Nippur of Enlil, as *saguš* of the temple of Enlil, the mighty hero, king of Ur, king of the four regions.' This, at any rate, dates the construction of much of the building at Tell el-Lahm. Unfortunately the text is well known (W.A.I. I, 3, xii, 2) from Abu Shahrain, Abu Hatab, and Telloh (Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, p. 140).

Excavations.—I had some small excavations made in one or two spots. At 30 yards NW. of the main centre cairn on the top of the mound was a wall of burnt bricks set on edge upright, plastered together with a kind of sandy mortar between, at 2′ depth. The corners pointed to the cardinal points, and it showed traces of fire.

Burials.—On the SW. part of the mound are a good number of pot-coffin burials ('bath' shape), the rims of the coffins being about 18″ below surface. Near one, in a 'throw-out', was an undoubted burnt palm-trunk.

I took the measurements of one coffin. One end was squared, and the other rounded, and the direction thus was SE.–NW. Length inside 42½″, width at squared end 21″, height inside 17″. Material yellow baked clay about ½″ thick, with a bottom. Sides slightly vaulted; lid not seen. Some slight traces of burning, but apparently only bones within, dry.

I examined a different kind of pot-burial on the east side of the mound with Lt. W. L. Cooper, I.A.R. This was composed of two large plain baked pots, the rim of the smaller inserted in the larger, the join being covered with bitumen. The smaller pot, however, had been badly broken; neither appear to have been wheel-turned. Depth, 2′ below surface: position, N.–S. Size of larger pot at mouth 2′ 6″ diameter, depth from rim to deepest point inside 2′ 3″. Within were bones (but it was not easy to see how they lay), and the skull appears to have lain on bitumen which shows impress of mat (?). Of funerary pots, there was a drinking pot and a patella (fig. 5, no. 9).

The remains near the mound:

(*a*) At a point about equidistant from the mound and the station northward, at 1000 yards from each, I found an excavation 25′ × 15′ × 6′ containing a belt of ashes 5″ thick at 1′ depth from surface. In this excavation was a potsherd with yellow ochre thick on it.

(*b*) Between the above spot and the mound lies an ancient well partly excavated, the top now being about 6′ below local level and set in *libn*. It is composed of cylindrical sections of light-coloured pottery, each in diameter 1′ 7½″ and height about 12¼″. Lt. Cooper told me that there had previously been a top to this well, made of radial burnt brick (each about 12″ × 8″, by his memory), and an inscribed brick was also found, but this had been taken away.

(*c*) A burial had a little previously been excavated near there, between the above-mentioned well, 30 yards to N., and 500 yards N. of the W. corner of mound. The coffin was of the usual 'bath' shape, rounded at W. end, and had been set in bitumen at the top. Length 3′, width 1′ 8½″, height inside 1′ 4½″, rim 1′ 6″ below surface, I found the teeth in the débris near in excellent condition. There were lumps of bitumen close by.

(*d*) Certain pots near or on the surface, probably from burials (fig. 5, nos. 4, 5, 10, 11, 13).

6. *Tell el-Jabarah:* length about 400 yards, N. width 250 yards, middle 200 yards, S. width (including remains of *zigurrat*) about 150–200 yards. Height approximately 12′.

The *zigurrat* at the south is now a heap of ruins about 20′ high, having provided Shaikh Thamir with bricks for his unoccupied fort on the mound, still in fair repair.

Surface showed much less pottery than at Tell el-Lahm, and what there is is poor. Burnt brick and copper fragment.

7. *Tell el-Judaidah:* 450 × 300 (to 150) yards, height 6′ to 12′. On 24th March 1918, the day when I visited it, the Euphrates lagoon was distant about 500 yards, and there were a few Arab huts at the water's edge to NW.

Surface showed pottery with black paint visible, and fragments of copper. Otherwise little apparent of importance.

APPENDIX VI

RECORD OF BRICK MEASUREMENTS

1. Muqaiyar: unburnt bricks from pavement 1′ depth, trench III, 2, 13″ to $12\frac{1}{2}$″ square, × $4\frac{1}{4}$″ thick; period probably subsequent to First Dynasty of Ur.

Burnt bricks: 1′ to 3′ depth in trench III, 3, light clay, $10\frac{3}{4}$″ × $7\frac{1}{4}$″ × $3\frac{1}{8}$″ and 10″ × $6\frac{3}{4}$″ × $2\frac{7}{8}$″, probably Sumerian. At 3′ depth, in trench III, 4, $9\frac{7}{8}$″ × $6\frac{1}{4}$″ × $2\frac{3}{4}$″.

2. Tell Tuwaiyil: burnt brick, broken, $6\frac{1}{2}$″ wide × $2\frac{3}{4}$″ thick.
reddish burnt brick 6″ wide × $1\frac{3}{4}$″ thick.

3. Abu Rasain: reddish burnt brick $2\frac{1}{4}$″ thick.
yellow burnt brick 10″ × $7\frac{1}{4}$″ × $7\frac{1}{2}$″ × $7\frac{1}{4}$″ (× 3″ thick).
„ „ „ $9\frac{1}{2}$″ × $7\frac{1}{4}$″ × 8″ × $7\frac{3}{4}$″.

4. 'A' mound: yellow burnt brick $13\frac{1}{2}$″ × $13\frac{1}{2}$″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″.

5. Tell el-Lahm: bricks in building at top, about $14\frac{1}{2}$″ × $14\frac{1}{2}$″ × 5″.

6. Tell el-Jabarah: burnt brick 12″ × 12″ × $2\frac{1}{4}$″.

7. Abu Shahrain.

Trench II, 1 at 3′. Red burnt, broken, width 6″ × $2\frac{3}{8}$″ thick.

Trench VIII, 1 lower at 10′. Red burnt, broken, 1′ $4\frac{1}{2}$″ × not less than 6″ × $3\frac{1}{2}$″ × $3\frac{1}{4}$″ containing unopened mussel.

Burnt bricks pierced with holes (to take pegs?) fairly frequent to NE. of *zigurrat* on edge of mound, E. part of mound, and less frequently on *zigurrat* staircase (specimen $7\frac{3}{4}$″ × $3\frac{1}{2}$″ × $2\frac{1}{4}$″).

Unburnt, in chambers, 6″ × 5″ × $4\frac{1}{2}$″.
„ top of *zigurrat*, about $9\frac{1}{4}$″ × 7″ × 3″.
„ in trench XIV, 3 at 1′ in wall, $2\frac{1}{2}$″ to 3″ thick.
„ in trench VIII, 1 lower, both light and dark, about 3″ thick.

Burnt bricks from *zigurrat*: 1′ 1″ × $6\frac{1}{2}$″ × $2\frac{1}{4}$″ and 1′ $0\frac{1}{2}$″ × 6″ × 3″: stamped with Bur-Sin's name 1′ $1\frac{1}{4}$″ × $10\frac{1}{2}$″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″, $10\frac{1}{2}$″ × $10\frac{1}{2}$″ × $2\frac{1}{4}$″, $10\frac{1}{2}$″ × $5\frac{1}{4}$″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″, $9\frac{1}{2}$″ × $4\frac{3}{4}$″ × $2\frac{1}{4}$″.

Buttress, plano-convex 10″ × $6\frac{1}{2}$″ × $1\frac{5}{8}$″ (fig. 3, no. 6).

Buttress (later than plano-convex bricks), yellow burnt, $10\frac{1}{4}$″ × $6\frac{3}{4}$″ × $2\frac{3}{4}$″ (compare those from Muqaiyar, trench III, 3).

Note that burnt brick fragments occur in trench XIV, 4, at 4′ 6″, apparently not prehistoric, and apparently brick slag in VIII, 1, at 13′.

Lump of burnt brick in VIII, 1, at 10′.

South-east mound: burnt brick $12\frac{1}{2}$″ × $12\frac{1}{2}$″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″.

APPENDIX VII

The Arabs with me at Abu Shahrain (either the Dhafir or the Zaiyad or both) had a musical phrase containing half-tones which they were able to repeat (*ad nauseam*).

APPENDIX VIII

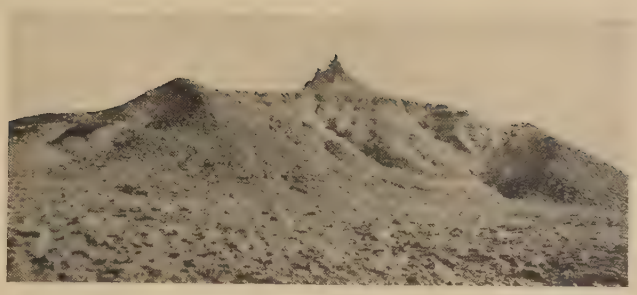
THE COPPER AT MUQAIYAR AND ABU SHAHRAIN

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Alexander Scott and his assistant, Mr. E. C. Padgham, of the British Museum, for their analyses of several specimens. It will be seen that none of them are of bronze, and since not even copper was found in any stratum at Abu Shahrain at a greater depth than two feet, the evidence is very strong in favour of an early date for the painted pottery.

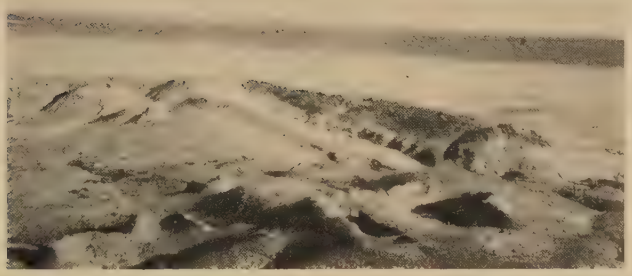
Specimens from Muqaiyar.	*Percentage of Copper.*	*Other traces (percentages).*
1. Plates (III, 6, 2′)	48·91	4·5 insoluble matter.
2. Curved object (III, 5, 1′)	87·98	not estimated.
3. Ring (no. 657, III, 1 A).	14·32	85·56 silver.
Specimens from Abu Shahrain.		
4. Dagger (?) (III, 3, 2′).		
The metallic core.	99·4	
Exterior crust.	73·50	4·63 insoluble matter: 12·46 chlorine: a trace of sulphates.
5. Hollow nail (A.S. 594, surface)	73·25	2·27 silver.
(This specimen seems to indicate that the copper nails were embellished with silver.)		
6. Nail (A.S. 418, surface)	76·57	1·42 sand, etc.
7. Nail (A.S. 591, surface)	72·92	1·37 sand, etc.

In the case of nos. 3–7 Dr. Scott says that no tin, antimony, or arsenic was detected, and zinc appeared also to be absent; in nos. 1–2 the specimens were practically free from tin, lead, silver, antimony, arsenic, bismuth, and iron. In all cases, therefore, the copper was of great purity.

A. The mound of Abu Shahrain from the north



B. The *Zigurrat* of Abu Shahrain from the north



C. Looking south from *Zigurrat* over the southern part of the mound of Abu Shahrain

D. Part of the old stone walling near trench VII

E. Block of basalt lying on the mound about 100 ft. north-east of trench XIII, 3

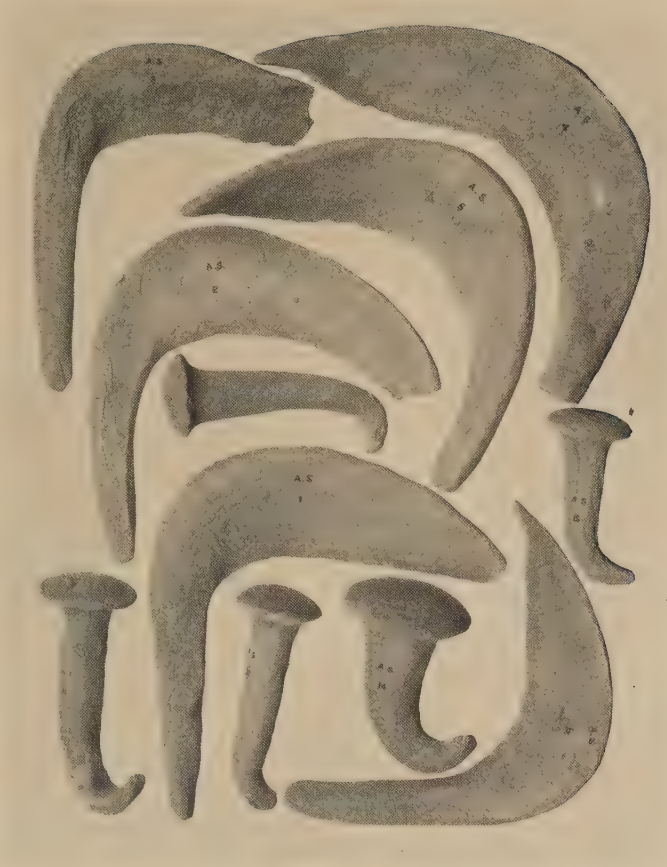
F. Wall of unburnt brick in chamber 2, to north-east of *Zigurrat*

VIEWS OF ABU SHAHRAIN

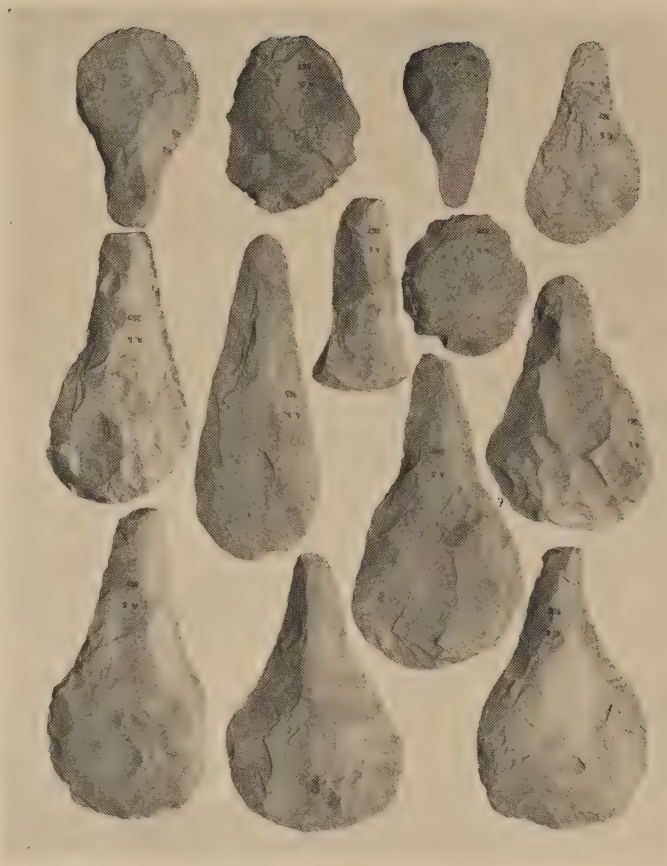
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921

Flakes, &c. of Chert, flint and obsidian picked up on the surface, Abu Shahrain

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921



A. Sickles and 'nails' of baked clay, Abu Shahrain ($\frac{2}{7}$)



B. Stone hoes from surface, Abu Shahrain ($\frac{3}{7}$)

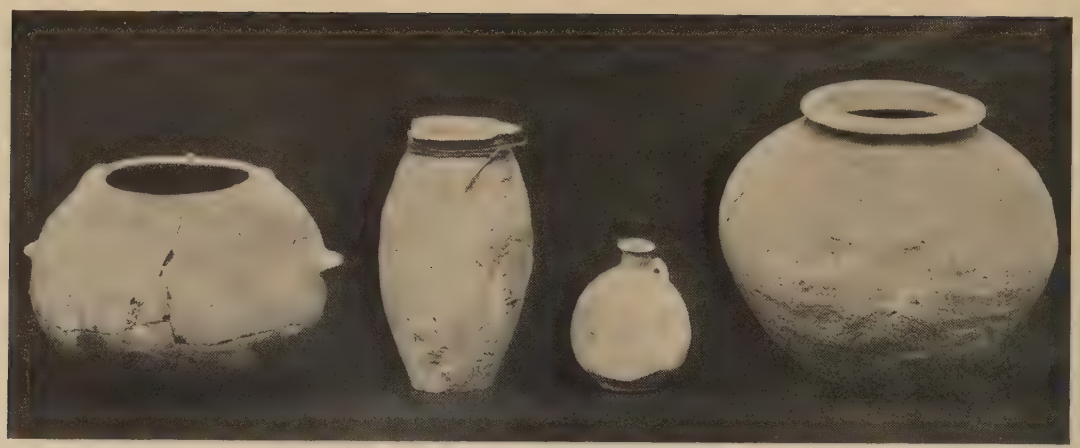
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921

Stone axe-heads, stone and clay sling-bolts, stone mace-heads, two pieces of carved alabaster and a clay animal, Abu Shahrain. Three cuneiform tablets, Muqaiyar. (About $\frac{4}{7}$)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921

Rows 1–3. Flakes, prehistoric pottery (2nd row, 1–4), seal cylinder, and copper rings, nails, needle, &c. Muqaiyar.
Rows 4–8. Copper nails, beads, bone implements (4th row, 16–19), quartzite arrow-heads, stone points (7th row), pins of obsidian, &c. (8th row). Abu Shahrain. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921



1 2 3 4

A. Pots from Abu Shahrain: 1, prehistoric; 2, 4, Sumerian; 3, green glazed. (About $\frac{1}{6}$)

B. Clay spindlewhorls, net sinkers (?), pegs, axe-head and portion of dish: stone arrow straightener, clay palette, arm of limestone statue: from surface, Abu Shahrain. (About $\frac{1}{3}$)

V.—*Sumerian Origins and Racial Characteristics.*

By Professor S. Langdon, *M.A.*

Read 5th February 1920.

In 1901 Léon Heuzey wrote in his *Catalogue des Antiquités chaldéennes* that we possessed at that time only one complete statuette of early Sumerian art. He referred to the remarkable marble figurine of a priest or priest-king excavated at Lagash and published on plate 6 *bis* of *Découvertes en Chaldée*. Although this object, of unusual height for a statuette in the early period (it is about 18 inches high), came from the hand of the sculptor with the details of the skirt unfinished, its artistic merits are so great that it must be placed at the end of the period, probably as late as Urukagina, priest-king of Lagash about 2900 B.C. The arms of this figure are finely delineated and free from the body. The head and features are delicately cut and the neck is of normal length (fig. 1). In earlier statuary the neck is always unnaturally short and the whole figure has a squat appearance. Here, too, the execution of the eyes is of a new school, the eyeball being cut in the stone itself, whereas the earlier artists cut a deep socket and inset the eye with a ball of nacre or shell by means of bitumen. De Sarzec the excavator of Lagash had, however, the good fortune to purchase a statuette from an Arab of Chattra in the vicinity of Telloh, the site of ancient Lagash. It is the figure of a woman, and the appearance is so squat, the execution so rude, and the details so archaic, that it henceforth served as the standard specimen of early Sumerian sculpture.[1] The balls have fallen from the eye-sockets. She wears a heavy woollen garment, with false frills, the costume already known from bas-reliefs and shell etchings as the early national dress of the Sumerians. On the earliest bas-reliefs, this petticoat is usually worked plain from the hips to the knees, and the lower part ends in a flounce of parallel tassels. These represent locks of wool, and on the primitive designs the tassels simply end in a point and are not scalloped as on other monuments published here[2] (see fig. 2). In the case of male figures the body is nude from the waist

[1] Published in *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 1 *ter*; and see also L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 112; Léon Heuzey, *Catalogue des Antiquités chaldéennes*, no. 82.

[2] For examples of the most primitive petticoat, see L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 41, fig. 1; Heuzey, *Catalogue des Antiquités chaldéennes*, no. 5.

upward. The dress consists of nothing but this woollen petticoat, which Heuzey calls a *kaunakès*. But the woollen garment worn by women is longer and is hung from the left shoulder, so as to cover the left breast.[1]

The identity of this mantle with the Greek καυνάκης was proved by Heuzey in the *Revue archéologique*, 1887, pp. 259 ff. With the aid of expert workmen of the Gobelin tapestries that skilful archaeologist discovered the process of weaving this curious cloth. The Sumerians sought to give the garment the appearance of a sheep's fleece, and in order to do this the woof is looped at parallel intervals from the warp. In other words, if the weaver wished to produce a false flounce, he chose a strand of the warp and when he reached that point he knotted the woof to the warp and dropped a loop of the required length and brought the woof back to the warp where it was knotted again. By repeating this process each time at the same place in the warp the weaver produced a false flounce or frill, and he could in the same manner affect more frills in parallel stages. These flounces are part of the garment and are not sewed on to the cloth. It is really tapestry work and looks surprisingly like a real fleece. The proto-Elamites of the same period also wore the *kaunakès* (fig. 4), and the prehistoric people of Turkestan who belonged to the same group wore it also. This is proved by the bas-relief on a gold cup of the Copper Age found at Asterabad in Persian Turkestan.[2] The accompanying plate with illustrations of dress from Elam and Asterabad, all from the early Copper Age before 3000, prove that the *kaunakès* was the early national dress of this entire group of people (see figs. 4 and 5).

Heuzey could find no Babylonian or Sumerian word from which the Greek καυνάκης could be derived. The Greeks themselves knew that the garment was imported from Asia, and, in the time of Aristophanes, Ecbatana the capital of Persia was famous for its manufacture. Since the Greek word ends in *ak* it is suggestive of a Babylonian word which had been borrowed from Sumerian. For the Babylonians in borrowing Sumerian compound words usually attached *akka*, *ukku* to the word. So we have Sumerian *ašur* borrowed by the Babylonians as *ašurakku*, running water; *nig-na* = *niknakku*, censer; *šanga-maḫ* = *šangamaḫḫuku*, high-priest.[3] Now in Sumerian the name of a well-known gar-

[1] The figure of a woman will be found on fig. 3, first small figure before the king in the upper register.

[2] Fig. 5. This remarkable object was published, together with some painted pottery and bronze implements discovered in the same place, by Baron de Bode in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxx, 248-55. Their connexion with Sumer and Elam was pointed out by M. Rostovtzeff, *The Sumerian Treasure of Astrabad*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. vi.

[3] The force of the ending *ku* is supposed to be that of the ordinary genitive suffix *ge-ga-ka* with Semitic inflexion. Loan-words of this type should on this assumption be composed of a construct and genitive, see the writer's *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 25, note 3. But many examples occur of noun and adjective in such words, cf. *šangumaḫḫuku*, 'the great priest', iv Rawlinson, 8*b*, 51. The word *tug-gú-èn* means literally 'garment from which the neck is exposed', and is composed of a noun

ment is *gú-èn*, and a variant writing is *gú-an-na*.[1] This word is widely employed in the late period, especially as the name of the garment of the goddess Aja, consort of the sun-god.[2] Now the figures of the various goddesses are constantly represented on seals clothed in the long false-flounced mantle of the post-archaic period. See the figure of the goddess who stands before the seated deified king Ur-Engur on the seal, fig. 6 in this article. There can be little doubt but that this new form of the Sumerian *kaunakès* is the *gú-èn* of the inscriptions. The Sumerians in the archaic period regarded it as a habit proper for kings and dignitaries or for the king's bodyguard only.[3] After that period they attached a religious significance to it, and on the monuments only deities wear it in Sumer.

In the mystic rituals priests put on the *kaunakès* to frighten the demons,[4] and a clay figurine of a sick man is clothed in a *kaunakès* for the same purpose.[5] But the Babylonians and Persians continued its use in private life and soldiers in the age of Hammurabi wore it.[6] The son of Teuman the Elamite tore his *kaunakès* as a sign of sorrow when Assurbanipal invaded and pillaged that country.[7] Although the syllabars and bilingual texts translate the word *gú-èn* by *naḫlaptu*, mantle, it is certain that they also made a loan-word of it which should be *guenakku*, *guanakku*, and as such it reached the Greeks in the form καυνάκης.[8]

But the *kaunakès* ending in a single tasselled flounce was soon replaced by the *kaunakès* or petticoat of three, four, or five flounces, that is, the entire garment is worked in flounces and the tassels scalloped. All the known statuettes have the petticoats in tasselled folds, except one which was found by the American excavators at Adab, the modern Bismâya.[9] The petticoat in folds is found on

(*gú* = neck) and a participle (*èn* = going forth). Albright, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xvi, 177, has discovered that the literal Semitic translation is *aṣit kišadi*. The ordinary Semitic rendering is *naḫlaptu*, but only in syllabars. The texts have invariably the Sumerian word *gú-èn*, which was probably rendered in the current speech by *guannakku*.

[1] Grice, *Records from Ur and Larsa*, 94, 12. For the *gú-èn* as a garment for soldiers, see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 12, 115. The *gú-èn dar-a*, or *kaunakès* of many colours, is mentioned in Grice, *ibid.* 165.

[2] *Cuneiform Tablets of the British Museum*, iv, 38 a 5. Strassmaier, *Cambyses*, 363, 2; *Cyrus*, 7, 6; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, 137, 8. For the Bêlit of Babylon, Strassmaier, *Cambyses*, 137, 3, that is, Zarpanit consort of Marduk.

[3] As on the Stèle of the Vultures, Heuzey, *Catalogue*, No. 10.

[4] *Túg gú-èn sûg ni-te-na-ge* = *naḫlapta santa ša puluḫti*, a red mantle of fright, *Cuneiform Tablets*, xvi, 28, 68.

[5] Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 66, 8.

[6] King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, No. 44, 5.

[7] Streck, *Asurbanipal*, ii, 326, 17.

[8] It was woven from wool, Johns, *Deeds and Documents*, 945, 6.

[9] See James Edgar Banks, *Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab*, p. 138.

the sculptured stone plates of Ur-Nina, founder of the first important dynasty at Lagash about 3000 B.C.[1] (fig. 3). Here only the ruler himself has a flounced petticoat, his sons and his ministers have a plain skirt without even the lower flounce. His daughter *Lidda*, however, has the flounced garment hung from her shoulder.[2] This would seem to indicate that the petticoat which falls in folds from the hip was confined to persons of high rank.

By far the most important statuette hitherto recovered from Sumer was found by Banks at Bismâya about forty miles north of Telloh (fig. 7). Both of these ancient cities, Lagash and Adab, the provenance of nearly all known early Sumerian sculpture in the round, belong to the extreme south of Mesopotamia. I have already referred to one statuette found at Adab which goes back to the period of the petticoat with single frill. The head has been lost and we can draw no inferences from its features, but it is probably one of the oldest sculptures in the round which we possess. I would date it considerably before Ur-Nina, perhaps about 3300. On the same spot Banks discovered a large marble statuette[3] of a full standing figure, with the head broken off; but this the excavator soon found and so completed the object.[4] The petticoat has six flounces. The arms, delicately designed, are worked free from the shoulder. The closely shaven head, oval cheeks, large thin nose, round chin, and thin pursed lips are all true to Sumerian type. The eyes are made by inserting mother-of-pearl or shell into the sockets.[5] The eyebrows are represented by grooves, arching from the temples over the eyes and meeting low on the base of the nose. These grooves were probably filled with a pigment. In later times the sculptors represented eyebrows by ridges which curve in the same manner and meet between the eyes.

The Bismâya statuette has an inscription on the right shoulder in three lines: *é-sar lugal-da-lu lugal adab-(ki)*, 'In the temple Esar, Lugaldalu king of Adab'. The figure represents Lugaldalu, king of Adab, who is now known to have reigned about 3350. The hands are folded at the waist in the ordinary attitude of liturgical devotion.

All these monuments of the archaic period are carved in marble, usually of soft texture which offered little resistance to the primitive instruments of the

[1] See *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2 *bis*, 2 *ter*. Fig. 3 in this article.

[2] The dress of the figure of *Lidda* indicates clearly that it represents a woman. It has been ordinarily taken for a male.

[3] Three views of this monument are given in Banks, *Bismya*, 190–7; and see also King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 97. Fig. 7 in this article.

[4] Twenty-eight inches high.

[5] Banks discovered also a fine Semitic head of the early period, groved eyebrows, and eyeballs inset. He asserts (p. 257 of his *Bismya*) that the inset eyeballs are of ivory, but they are almost certainly mother-of-pearl or shell.

stone-cutters. It is, therefore, somewhat disturbing to find a nearly life-size statue in diorite at Djokha, the ancient Umma, in the same region and obviously of the archaic period (fig. 8). Only the bust remains, but a long inscription engraved on the shoulders and waist enables us to determine the approximate age. The eyes are cut in the stone itself, which indicates a date not earlier than Urukagina. But the large coarse nose and primitive attempts to portray the Sumerian racial features would indicate a very early date. We must, however, attribute the coarse features and thick neck to a survival of early art.[1] It represents a certain Lupad, governor of the Sumerian city Umma.

The archaeology of Sumer by means of which we have been able to study their primitive dress, their physiological characteristics, and their early art has thus far been recovered almost exclusively from sites in the extreme south. Indications of early settlements of Sumerians at Assur, the old capital of Assyria on the upper Tigris, have been discovered by German excavations there.[2] Certain philological, religious, and cultural evidence exists for assuming that this race came originally from Russian Turkestan, and in consequence their first settlements in Mesopotamia should have been on the upper reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates. The marble monument which I publish here supports this interpretation of their early migrations (figs. 9–10). This statuette was discovered at Istabalat on the Tigris, eight miles below Samara. The object lay 5 ft. 6 in. below the surface, and remains of walls indicated that here was an ancient Sumerian city. It came to the Ashmolean Museum through the efforts of Dr. G. A. Cooke, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Its height is $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., and the girth measures $8\frac{7}{8}$ in. in circumference. Both arms are worked free from the body. A heavy Sumerian petticoat hangs in three folds from the hips, leaving the bust entirely naked. The face, although rudely delineated, reveals successfully the features characteristic of the Sumerian race. It resembles more closely the face of the diorite statue of Lupad found at Telloh than that of any other head yet recovered. The eyebrows are represented by grooves and the eyeballs are inset by means of bitumen. The left eyeball is still in its socket but the pupil has disappeared. The white eyeball is made of mother-of-pearl and the lost pupil was probably made of hardened bitumen or perhaps of lapis lazuli. Very few of the inset eyes have remained in position, consequently there is little material for comparison. A head of a bull, made of copper formed in a mould, of the age of Ur-Nina or slightly later, was found at Lagash and has the eyes in place. The eyeballs are of mother-of-pearl and the pupil is made

[1] The monument is published by Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1907, 769 ff., and by Toscane in Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xxx, *Textes divers*. See also King, *History of Sumer*, p. 95, and *Découvertes*, pl. 47.

[2] See King, *History of Babylon*, 137-8.

of lapis lazuli.[1] On the other hand the eye of a heifer, a small portion of whose head was found at Lagash, is inset with univalve shell, and the pupil is made of hardened bitumen.[2]

The characteristic features of the Sumerians and the Elamites[3] are not precisely those which anthropologists ascribe to the prehistoric Armenoid race of western Asia; the Sumerian and Elamite have a high thin nose whose bridge joins the cranium without much curvature of the bridge, a square jaw and round chin, thin pursed lips, and long head with large brain capacity. Most characteristic of all Sumerian features is the axis of the eye-socket. A line drawn from the inner corner of the socket to the outer corner slants outward and downward. This feature is clearly indicated on the statuette of Istabalat. The custom of shaving both beard and hair obtained in the earliest period, but not exclusively. This type of man was in reality heavily bearded, and many Sumerian figures have a full beard but always shaven lips. The same custom prevailed in the period 4000–3000 in Elam, as figure 4 in our illustrations shows. These peoples undoubtedly had little hair on the upper lips, and no custom earlier than the full beard and shaven lips has been found. The predynastic Egyptians who are a long-headed race with slanting jaws and pointed chin passed through precisely the same change of custom, first shaving the lips and then the beard and hair. Note in particular the transition custom of tonsure of a Sumerian head from Assur which has a clean-shaven head and lips but a short-cropped beard.[4] For the early Sumerian period of transition see fig. 11, where a king has a full beard and shaven lips, but an official is clean shaven.

Inlaying of eyes with univalve shell is obviously much older than the use of mother-of-pearl, for the Sumerians could not have known the latter material before they reached the Persian Gulf. A head of a limestone statuette found in the lower strata at Assur belongs to the same period, has the same racial characteristics, and the same inset eyes. Here mother-of-pearl is employed, a fact which points to southern influence at Assur and long contact with the Persian Gulf.[5] The lower strata at Assur have yielded statuettes garbed in the same woollen petticoat which was the national Sumerian dress from the earliest period down to about 2800, when the long flowing shawl draped from the left shoulder across the breast and under the right arm took its place.[6] It is, there-

[1] See Heuzey, *Catalogue*, no. 165.

[2] *Découvertes*, 1 *ter*, no. 4.

[3] The proto-Elamite has features and tonsure of the beard absolutely identical with those of the Sumerians. Compare the Elamitic dress and heads on fig. 4 with those of the Sumerians on fig. 2.

[4] King, *History of Babylon*, p. 138, fig. 35.

[5] This head is reproduced in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 54, p. 9, and in King, *History of Babylon*, p. 136. The only published statuette of this kind from Assur is given by Meissner in his *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Abbildung 22.

[6] That is for use in private life. A more elaborate form of *kaunakès* draped from the shoulder

fore, entirely in agreement with the history of prehistoric Sumerian archaeology that this very primitive statuette from Istabalat should have been found farther north than the old Sumerian city states were supposed to have extended. The rude but vigorous workmanship indicates a date considerably earlier than that of any statuette found in the land of Sumer, and can hardly be assigned to a time lower than two hundred years before Ur-Nina. I would place it provisionally at 3400 B.C.; at any rate our present material points to about that period.

The prehistoric dress is bound to the waist by a band worked into the material of the garment, and the loop formed by the tying of the ends of the band hangs in a heavy tassel over the left hip. Since this national dress of the early Sumerians leaves the upper part of the body nude, we should naturally suppose that it originated in a hot climate. The same dress is used in the colder climate at Assur. This is a fact which, if taken by itself, indicates the origin of the costume in the extreme south, a habit which by reflex influence may have been imposed on the older settlements in the north. If that be so, then the Sumerian civilization of northern Mesopotamia is much older than has been supposed. At any rate the monument of Istabalat is a connecting link between the archaeological remains of the ancient northern and southern settlements, provided that it was found in its original location. If this race did immigrate from the north, and if they adopted the *kaunakès* or woollen petticoat in the south, obviously the period in which this costume imposed itself on the settlements in the north in Elam and Turkestan must have been a long one. It has always been supposed that the Semites drove them from centres like Assur and the region of Istabalat, and consequently these northern remains are pre-Semitic. But the archaic Semitic head (with beard and moustache) of Bismâya shows that they were already in the extreme south, and more or less mixed with the Sumerians in the age of Entemena, say 2950 B.C. Traces of Semitic influence are found in the very earliest Sumerian inscriptions. Note the Semitic loan-word *damḳar*, merchant, in pre-Sargonic contracts of Šuruppak,[1] and *damǵara* = *tamḫaru*, battle, in an inscription of Entemena.[2] Still more important is the fact that the Sumerian word for 'to purchase' (*šam*) in the very earliest inscriptions is Semitic.[3] Semites were in southern Sumer long before Sargon founded the first Semitic dynasty at Akkad about 2850 B.C., and their influence is being verified by the excavation of every ancient Sumerian city. They

became the habit of the gods. The Semites and other adjacent peoples continued to wear the new type of *kaunakès*, whose manufacture spread throughout western Asia and passed into Greece.

[1] Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Tablettes cunéiformes*, 13, iv 6.

[2] Thureau-Dangin, *Alt-sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*, 38, col. I 26.

[3] See the inscription on the monument of Lupad, copy by Toscane, p. 4, fragment col. II, *e-šú-šam*.

retained their distinctive dress and tonsure, but all the evidence points to their being in Sumer in the age of Ur-Nina and perhaps long before. But assuming that the northern Sumerian remains of Assur and the monument of Istabalat represent a Sumerian civilization, swept away by the early Semites, and so old that the newer southern dress had been imposed on them, we should be bound to assume an interval between this statuette and those of Assur on the one hand, and those of Telloh and Bismâya on the other, of from 500–1000 years,[1] and date them nearer to 4000 than 3000 B.C. This is the only alternative if we assume that the Semites are the later invaders. And if this be assumed, how are we to explain away the philological evidence? A highly cultured people like the Sumerians do not borrow such important words as merchant, battle, and to purchase from barbaric invaders. The evidence of archaeology and philology is all in favour of the Semites as equally old in central Mesopotamia, although they certainly remained culturally stagnant until their contact with the Sumerians. That seems to be the conclusion to which we are bound to come.

The monument of Istabalat has other peculiarities which are unique. In the folded hands is a small round hole about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter bored at the same diameter to the bottom, where it reaches a depth of 3 in. The direction of the hole is not perpendicular but leans slightly to the right shoulder. The figure probably carried a weapon or a sceptre of authority in its hands.[2] More difficult is the explanation of the two large holes which enter the head above the ears, one on each side, and slant deeply inward. The top of the head is sawed off and perforated by five smaller holes. Into these were inserted pins, probably to support a trencher basket (*dupšikku*) which must have been made of the same kind of marble as the figure itself. When this heavy top-piece was broken away the left side of the head was damaged by the pressure of the large pin. I am unable to explain the loop of hair at the back of the head, if indeed it be hair. Most statuettes of Sumerian men represent them as shaven. The projection may have acted as a support for the *dupšikku* in some way.

The *dupšikku* was a high basket made of reed and carried on the head. It

[1] That is, we must find place for a Semitic conquest and their later absorption in the old Sumerian centres between the Sumerian remains of the north and those of the age of Ur-Nina (2900).

[2] A torso of the early Sumerian period from Assur also has a small hole drilled into the clasped hands, which Andrae, the excavator of Assur, regards as the support of a sceptre or staff. That is of course an equally possible alternative. For a description of the Assur statuette see *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 54, p. 14. On the other hand the very early figure found by Banks at Bismâya holds a cup in its hands. The cup is, however, worked as one piece in the stone, and the right hand which grasps the cup is supported by the left, a posture of the hands entirely unique and different from the liturgical pose of the Istabalat and Assur figures. These figures more probably represent rulers with a sceptre. For the Bismâya statuette see Banks, *Bismya, or The Lost City of Adab*, 138. For a Sumerian holding a weapon resembling a boomerang see fig. 2 in the illustrations.

Fig. 1. Statuette of late archaic period. Découvertes, Pl. 6 *bis*. [Lagash]

Fig. 2. Bas-relief circulaire, *circa* 3300 B.C. *Revue d'Assyriologie*, V. 43. [Lagash]

Fig. 3. Pedestal of a sacred emblem. Ur-Ninā and his family. Découvertes, Pl. 2 *bis*. [Lagash]

Fig. 4. Proto-Elamitic vase bas-reliefs. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, XIII, Pl. 33, 5; 35, 5 and 36, 2. [Susa]

Fig. 5. Gold cup of Asterabad

Fig. 6. Seal dedicated to Ur-Engur King of Ur, 25th century

Fig. 7. Statuette of Lugaldalu, King of Adab

Fig. 8. Lupad, Governor of Umma.
Découvertes, pl. 47.

Fig. 11. Bas-Relief Circulaire, Central Figures.
Revue d'Assyriologie, V. 43. [Lagash]

Fig. 9. Ashmolean Statuette from Istabalat

Fig. 10

had the form of an inverted truncated cone and was the ordinary utensil for carrying burdens. At the consecration of the foundation-bricks of holy places the Sumerian rulers themselves bore the sacred brick in the trencher-basket, and the custom is frequently referred to in Sumerian inscriptions from the earliest period onward. Ur-Nina, first of the historical rulers at Lagash, says that he bore the holy *dupšikku* for his god, and a famous stone bas-relief of this ruler represents him dressed in a *kaunakès* and carrying a reed trencher-basket on his head which he supports with his right arm [1] (see fig. 3). The pious city-king, Gudea of Lagash, who ruled about 2650 B.C., makes constant reference to his carrying the 'holy *dupšikku*'. 'In the temple he carried the *dupšikku* like a holy crown,' says one of his inscriptions.[2] This pious religious act of the Sumerian rulers was adopted by the Semites. The British Museum possesses bas-reliefs of Assurbanipal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon, supporting with both hands a *dupšikku* on their heads. Both of these *stélae* bear inscriptions which refer to the rebuilding of temples in Babylon and Barsippa.[3] Copper figurines of the periods of Gudea and Kudurmabuk, 2650–2100, have been found at Telloh and in other parts of Sumer, which represent rulers bearing a low trencher-basket on the head, supported by both hands.[4] They are usually described as *kanephoroi*.

The monument of Istabalat is the earliest known representation of this ancient Sumerian ritual. It represents a priest-king supporting the *dusu-azag* or *dupšikku*, the holy trencher-basket, in which he carried the foundation brick of a temple from the mould to the builders. Archaeologically it is closely connected with the statuettes found in the Sumerian strata at Assur.

We now have evidence of Sumerian civilization in the archaic period from Lagash in the extreme south, northward along the Euphrates above Bagdad, to Assur in upper Mesopotamia at the junction of the Upper Zab and the Tigris. Statues of the later school of Ur-Bau (2700) and Gudea have been found at Assur which prove that the Sumerians maintained themselves in the north even after the great Semitic dynasty of Akkad (2900–2700), whose authority is known to have extended over all Sumer, Mesopotamia, and Syria. The Sumerian culture in the north came to an end soon after the twenty-seventh century, for Assur has yielded an inscription of a Semitic city-king who owed allegiance to the

[1] *Découvertes*, pl. 2 *bis*.

[2] Cylinder A 20, 25.

[3] The bas-reliefs of these two rulers are reproduced on the title-page of C. F. Lehmann's *Šamaššumukin*. See *ibid.*, pp. 22 and 25.

[4] For those of Gudea, see *Découvertes*, pl. 28, and for those of Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, sons of Kudurmabuk and kings of Larsa, see L. W. King, *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (in the British Museum), p. 146; Menant, *Glyptique Orientale*, i, 171. One of Gimil-Sin, king of Ur, is mentioned in the *Guide*, p. 144, no. 57.

last great Sumerian dynasty at Ur. The name of Bur-Sin (2399–2392), king of Ur, occurs on this inscription, so that we may infer that Sumerian was no longer spoken in the regions north of Sumer proper, or above the district of Babylon. Even upon a very conservative basis it would be difficult to date the Sumerian migration into upper Mesopotamia later than 5000 B.C. That would leave barely sufficient time to explain the use of mother-of-pearl at Istabalat and Assur and the reflex influence of the southern dress upon the older settlements in the north.

I have not made use of a curious limestone figure of the early Sumerian period in the British Museum, for it has never been fully described and no statement concerning its origin is accessible. A good reproduction will be found in L. W. King's *History of Sumer and Akkad*, plate opposite p. 40. The object has the appearance of not having been finished so far as the dress is concerned. The toes and fingers are unusually well executed, and the monument is by no means as old as the statuette of Istabalat.

VI.—*Paris Garden and the Bear-baiting.*

By C. L. Kingsford, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 25th March 1920.

Paris Garden and the bear-baiting form a subject so hackneyed that I should not deal with it in a communication to this Society if I did not believe that I had something that was both novel and interesting to lay before them. I shall not, however, enter upon the history of either further than is necessary for the illustration and explanation of my new material.

There have been supposed to be two proofs of the early connexion of Paris Garden with bear-baiting. The later in point of date is the statement of J. P. Collier[1]: 'The most ancient notice of Paris Garden, as the scene of such amusements, that we have met with is in a book of the household expenses of the Earl of Northumberland, where, under date of 17 Henry VIII, it is said that the Earl went to Paris Garden to behold the baiting there.'

Our Fellow Mr. T. F. Ordish,[2] on examining the book in question, could find no such statement, and we can only suppose that it is an instance of Collier's extraordinary propensity for distorting those sources of information which he was not in a position to falsify. Nevertheless this allegation has passed current. It was adopted in Cunningham's *Handbook of London*, and so found its way into Mr. Wheatley's *London Past and Present*. It was apparently the source of Mr. Rendle's statement[3]: 'The earliest notice I have of bear sports on the Bank is about 1526.' More recently it has led Sir Sidney Lee to write: 'In 1526 fresh stability was given to the pastime by the erection under royal patronage, in the Manor of Paris Garden on the Bankside in Southwark, of a circus or amphitheatre which was thenceforth devoted to exhibitions of contests between mastiff dogs and bulls or bears.'[4] For this Sir Sidney Lee gives no authority, and I cannot discover any evidence for the existence of any such circus, then or at any time, within the Manor of Paris Garden, which, as a matter of fact, was not

[1] *History of Dramatic Poetry*, iii, 94.

[2] *Early London Theatres*, 129–31. Collier's supposed source was the *Regulations for the Household of Henry, 5th Earl of Northumberland*, edited by Bishop Percy in 1770.

[3] Cp. Harrison's *Description of England*, ii, Appendix I, p. iii.

[4] *Shakespeare's England*, ii, 428.

on the Bankside. However, Collier's story of 1526 is in itself but a small thing and it is sufficient to pass it by with a flat denial.

The other matter is of more importance. The trouble began with T. Blount, who in his *Glossographia*,[1] published in 1681, wrote: 'Paris Garden is the place on the Thames Bankside at London, where the Bears are kept and baited, and was anciently so called from Robert de Paris, who had a garden there in Richard the Second's time, who by Proclamation ordered that the Butchers of London should buy that Garden for receipt of their garbage and entrails of beasts to the end that the City might not be annoyed thereby. Claus. 16. R 2. Dors. 11.' Seemingly on the strength of this, Malone, commenting on the line in *Henry VIII* (Act v, sc. 4), 'Do you take the Court for Paris Garden', wrote: 'This celebrated Bear-Garden was so called from Robert de Paris, who had a hot house and garden there in the time of Richard II.' What grounds Malone had for making Paris the keeper of a brothel on the Bankside I do not know; but Paris was a highly respectable and wealthy citizen of London[2] without any known connexion with Southwark, and it is extremely improbable that the allegation is true. However, it is something that Malone, except by implication, made no reference to any bears. Not so his successors. Mr. Greg in his Preface to *Henslow's Diary*[3] speaks of Paris Garden as 'the assigned abode of the bears and beasts of sport kept from early times for royal entertainment'. And Mr. Ordish, who in this instance did not unfortunately depend on the original authority, writes: 'Here we have provision for feeding dogs and bears, and the name of Paris Garden is also accounted for.[4]

I must, however, give the actual terms of the Writ, to which Blount referred, translating it as closely as possible:

> 'To the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, greeting. Whereas in our last Parliament held at Westminster, for the greater honour of the said City and for the more avoiding of the corruption of the air in the same, it was ordered and agreed by the assent of the same Parliament, that the dungheap or laystall on the bank of the water of Thames by the house of Robert de Parys be removed and wholely taken away, and that in the same place there be built a house by the butchers of the said City before Easter next, and that the said butchers do cause all the filthy viscera, issues, and entrails of beasts killed by them in the City aforesaid to be carried as honestly as possible to the aforesaid house thus newly built, and in the same house to be cut up into minute pieces according to the measure in the City aforesaid of old accustomed, and there to be put in boats and thence taken to mid-stream when the tide is high and cast into the

[1] p. 473, fifth edition.

[2] He contributed 40 *l.* to the loan to the King in 1370–1: *Letter Book*, G, p. 276.

[3] vol. i, p. 35.

[4] *Early London Theatres*, pp. 128 and 203; see, however, pp. 247–8. The legend is accepted by Professor J. Q. Adams in *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 122.

said water when the tide begins to ebb, and at no other place nor at any other time, any ordinance or proclamation formerly made to the contrary notwithstanding.'[1]

The Mayor and Sheriffs were to have proclamation made accordingly in such places of the city and its suburbs as seemed most expedient.

There is here no mention of Southwark, nor of a garden, nor of bears, and the whole argument which has been founded on this document is a pure piece of imagination. If Robert Parys had had a house at Southwark it would have been outside the City's jurisdiction, and the Mayor and Sheriffs would not have been able to take any steps in the matter. The Manor of Paris Garden was moreover at this time the property, as we shall see, of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and as such was a privileged place, with which in any case the City could not have interfered. Robert Parys was, as before stated, a wealthy and respectable citizen; he appears between 1384 and 1388 as a Common Councillor for the ward of Queenhithe,[2] and though I have not found any other reference to his house it is natural to suppose that he resided in that ward. But even if it were permissible to suppose that the document (in spite of its whole tenor and phraseology) had reference to a house on the Southwark side, it would not help us with the mythical bears. For the butchers having cut up their offal were to take it in boats and cast it into the Thames at the turn of the high tide, for the purpose, of course, that it might be carried away by the falling stream. I have not heard of any white bears at London before the reign of James I,[3] nor if there had been any does it seem reasonable to suppose that they would have been swimming about in the Thames to pick up the offal. Having seen this piece of literary garbage safely into the water, in the hope that it may be finally swept away and annoy us no more, we will turn to the true history of Paris Garden.

In 1113 Robert Marmion granted to the Priory of Bermondsey the hithe of Wideflete on the Thames together with its mill.[4] In 1166 the monks demised to the Templars all the hide of Wideflete on the Thames, with its men, mills, waters, and pools at an annual rent of 10 marks. In 1169 they further demised to the Templars two acres of land, which they had of the king's alms, and adjoined on the east the land they had by grant from Marmion.[5] These grants were confirmed by Henry II, apparently in November 1187, when Wideflete is

[1] Close Roll, 16 Richard II, m. 11. See also the French version in *Rolls of Parliament*, iii. 306, and the abstract *ap. Letter Book*, H, p. 392.

[2] *Letter Book*, H, pp. 240, 332.

[3] That is for baiting. Though Henry III had a white bear, for which a long and stout cord was provided to hold him when fishing in the Thames. Bayley, *Antiquities of the Tower of London*, i, 270.

[4] *Annales Monastici*, iii, 432.

[5] *Id.*, iii, 442–3.

described as on the Thames over against the New Temple, the rent being now given as 10 marks 4 shillings; it was no doubt a very convenient piece of property for the Templars to possess. On the suppression of the Order of the Temple, Wideflete and its mills became the property of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell.[1] It is stated by Manning and Bray that Wideflete was granted to William de Montacute in 1313 during the king's pleasure, but the authority is not given and I have failed to find it; in any case the grant can only have been pending the transfer to the Hospitallers. Early in the reign of Edward III, William de Northo, the escheator for Surrey, was ordered to make a return of the Manors, late of the Temple, which were held by the Hospital at Michaelmas, 1327. In this return it appeared that the Hospital held 'Wythiflete iuxta Suthwerk', the houses whereof were so decayed and ruinous that their value was not sufficient for their maintenance, whilst of six water-mills five were decayed and ill-equipped, and the sixth had no apparatus. There were also in their possession a portion of land called 'Hida terra', including one acre of arable and three acres meadow, the rest being in a curtilage which was walled and ditched; likewise one acre in the field of Southwark and one acre in Lambeth Marsh. All these were held of Bermondsey Priory at a rent of 10 marks 4 shillings. The Hospital had likewise three cottages by grant of Robert Pourynthewoght, and a messuage in Southwark which was of the fee of the earl of Warren.[2] Under a Bull of Pope Innocent the possessions of the Templars had privileges of sanctuary, which covered the Manor of Wideflete. When we next hear of the Manor in 1420 John, Duke of Bedford, was farmer for the Hospital and issued statutes and ordinances for the privileged place called Parish-gardeyn, otherwise Wideflete or Wiles, prescribing rules for those who sought refuge there. Thirteen years later we again have reference to the Hospital as holding the mills of Wideflete with the garden called Parish garden and lands in Southwark, Kennington, Lambeth, and Newington under the Abbey of Bermondsey.[3] 'Seynt Johns Mylles' are mentioned in later deeds of the fifteenth century.[4] The form 'Parish garden' which appears in these documents is paralleled in other documents of later date, but having regard to its ownership it can hardly be connected with 'parish', though a suggestion has been made that the name might be due to its being parish property. It is more

[1] Cartulary of St. John's, Clerkenwell, *ap. Cotton MS.* Nero E. vi, f. 55 'tota hida de Wideflete que est super Thamisiam contra Nouum Templum de feodo Roberti Marmyun cum molendinis et cum hominibus super eandem terram manentibus'. By a curious error 'Gaufrido Archiepiscopo *Cantuar.*' appears as the first witness. The charter was dated 'apud Buru.'. For the date compare Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 282.

[2] *Cotton. MS.* Nero. E. vi, f. 56.

[3] *Monasticon*, vi, 818, 832 from the *Cotton MS.*

[4] *Ancient Deeds*, C. 4357 and C. 5214.

likely that it is derived from the name of some person, though not the particular Robert Paris with whom it has so long without warrant been connected. The alternative name Wiles[1] is of interest as illustrating our next piece of evidence.

On 28th May 1536, Henry VIII, by indenture, obtained from the Hospital of St. John in exchange for other lands the Manor of Wyles with Parys Garden, otherwise called the Manor of Parys Garden, with all messuages, lands, tenements, fields, etc. thereto belonging, and this was assured to him by Act of Parliament. By another Act of Parliament at the same time there was assured to the king the Manor or Hyde of Southwark, late of the prior of Bermondsey, and by a third Act both properties were assured to the queen, Jane Seymour.[2] At the same time Richard Longe, squire of the body, was appointed keeper of the house late of the duke of Suffolk in Southwark, and steward and bailiff of the Manors of the duke of Suffolk and of the Priory of Bermondsey, in Southwark and in the parishes of St. Margaret and St. George and in Parys Garden.[3] As a consequence, in a list of the queen's property we presently find Sir Richard Longe, knight, as officer at 'The kinges place in Southwerke with Parys gardeyn'. In the printed copy in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* this appears as 'barys gardeyn', and it is accordingly indexed as 'bear-garden' and has been supposed to establish further the presence of bears at Paris Garden. The form struck me as suspicious, and on referring to the original, I found that only part of the first letter was legible owing to the paper having been repaired; on holding it up to the light the remainder of the letter could be clearly seen, and there is no doubt whatever that 'Parys-gardeyn' is the true reading.[4] Thus there disappears the last supposed early piece of direct evidence for any connexion between Paris Garden and bears. I say direct evidence, because we now come to a much more important piece of indirect evidence on which sufficient stress has not hitherto been laid.

In the grant to Longe on 29th May 1536, which I have just quoted, there is no mention of bears or of the mastership of the king's game. But when on 2nd June 1573 Queen Elizabeth granted to Raphe Bowes the office of master 'of our game, pastymes and sportes, that is to saie of all and everie our beares, bulles and mastyve dogges', the grant was made in 'as large and ample manner and forme as Cuthbert Vaughan or Sir Richard Longe' held it.[5] It is thus clear

[1] There is reference to a close called 'le Wyles' adjoining 'Temple milnes' in 1337, and to 'molendinum nostrum de Wyles' in 1394. *Cotton MS.* u.s. ff. 55, 56.

[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, iii, pp. 675, 676, and 695. Collier (iii, 95) inaccurately states that Paris Garden was acquired by Henry VIII from Bermondsey Abbey.

[3] Augmentation Book 232, f. 13, and *Letters and Papers*, xiii (i), p. 573.

[4] Royal MS. 7 F. xiv, f. 82v°, *Letters and Papers* xii (ii), 975. The date is soon after Jane Seymour's death.

[5] *Catalogue of Alleyn MSS.*, p. 231, ed. G. F. Warner.

that Longe eventually combined with the stewardship of Paris Garden the office of master of the game of bears. It does not, however, follow that the bears were kept at Paris Garden, and Longe, like his successors, no doubt underlet or licensed the keeping of the game to another party. It is possible that his deputy was William Payne, who, as we shall see, was acquiring property on the Bankside (afterwards held in connexion with the bear-garden) as early as 1540, and was certainly deputy to Cuthbert Vaughan some twenty years later.[1] If, however, the game was in Longe's time kept and used at Paris Garden, we must seek for his deputy in William Baseley of Paris Garden, gentleman, to whom on 1st March 1542 Henry VIII granted 'all the messuage or farm called Paris garden, together with all houses and edifices standing thereon, and all meadows, closes, hedges, pastures, walls, orchards, gardens, with les Bolyng Alyes, and all other commodities to the said farm belonging, and thirty acres of meadows and marsh, parcel of the Manor of Kennyngton, late in the tenure of Robert Ormiston, and all parcel of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem', for a term of twenty-one years. The rest of the lease is of an ordinary form providing for the upkeep of the premises and securing to Baseley sufficient 'hegebote, fierbote, ploughbote and cartebote'.[2] A further indenture, dated 7th March 1546, granted to William Baseley, still described as of Paris garden, Multon's Close containing 15 acres, an adjoining close in Lambeth Marsh, and upwards of 39 acres in St. George's Fields, which were acquired by the king from the duke of Suffolk.[3] Sir Richard Long had rendered an Account for 1541–2, in which Baseley appears as farmer of Paris Garden by demise from Ormiston; the Bowling Alleys are mentioned, but there is no suggestion of a bear-garden or of any game being kept there.[4]

There are several points that are noticeable in these grants. Firstly, there is no mention of bears or of any place where bears are kept; but if there had been any such place at Paris Garden, it would surely have been specified in the first of these grants to Baseley, in Longe's grant, and in the Acts of Parliament. Secondly, the mention of the Bowling Alleys indicates that Paris Garden was already in 1542 a place of resort for pleasure; since the Bowling Alleys are not mentioned in 1536 they had probably been added in the meantime. It is conceivable that Baseley might have intended to develop Paris Garden for bear-baiting; but his account indicates that he was simply the farmer, and we are not entitled to make such an assumption.

It is true that the second grant to Baseley in 1542 coincides with the date

[1] See p. 176, below.
[2] *Augmentation Book*, 214, f. 39 b.; *Letters and Papers*, xvii, p. 700.
[3] *Augmentation Book*, 217, f. 5; *Letters and Papers*, xxi (i), p. 779.
[4] *Ministers' Accounts*, Henry VIII, 6026, at P.R.O.

when we last hear of the bull-ring in the High Street of Southwark.[1] But there is a like agreement with the date when William Payne, the first known proprietor of the bear-garden, began his association with the Bankside. In any case it is probable that the bull-ring in Southwark High Street was discontinued, when in 1546 the Corporation of London obtained some jurisdiction over the Borough. It is just in these years between 1540 and 1550 that we begin to hear of Paris Garden and the Bankside in connexion with bull- and bear-baiting, and since the references are of importance for our further discussion I will repeat them here.

A Spaniard who visited London in 1544 writes thus:

> 'In another part of the city we saw seven bears, some of a great size; they are led into a circus, where, being tied by a long rope, large and fierce dogs are let loose upon them, to bite and infuriate them. It is not bad sport to see them fight. The large bears are matched with three or four dogs, and sometimes one is victorious and sometimes the other; the bears are ferocious and of great strength; they not only defend themselves with their teeth, but hug the dogs so closely with their forelegs, that, if they were not rescued by their masters they would be suffocated. Into the same place they brought a pony with an ape on its back, and to see the pony kicking at the dogs, and the ape shrieking at them as they hang on the ears and neck of the pony, is enough to make you laugh.'[2]

Though there is no mention of the exact place here, it is not I think unreasonable to interpret 'another part' as referring to the Bankside in Southwark.

Robert Crowley, the puritanical printer and poet, in 1550 has some verses:

> Of Bearbaytynge.
>
> What follye is thys to kepe wyth daunger,
> A great mastyfe dogge and foule ouglye beare;
> And to thys onelye ende, to see them two fyght,
> Wyth terrible tearynge, a full ouglye syght.
> And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all,
> Whose store of money is but very smale;
> And yet everye Sondaye they will surelye spende
> One penye or two, the bearwardes lyvyng to mende.
> At Paryse Garden eche Sundaye, a man shall not fayle
> To fynde two or three hundredes for the bearwardes vale.[3]

The next allusion is in a sermon preached by John Bradford[4] the Martyr

[1] *Early London Theatres*, p. 134. It had certainly disappeared before 1561.
[2] *Archaeologia*, xxiii, 354–5.
[3] *Select Works of R. Crowley*, p. 16, E.E.T.S.
[4] *Two Notable Sermons.*

before Edward VI, wherein he showed 'the tokens of God's judgment for the contempt of the Gospel, as that certain gentlemen upon the Sabbath day going in a wherry to Paris Garden to the bear-baiting were drowned'.

Machyn in his *Diary*[1] relates that on 9th December 1554 'at afternon ther was a barebaytyn on the Bankesyde, and ther the grett blynd bare broke losse and in ronnyng away he chakt a servyng man by the calff of the lege, and bytt a gret pesse away, and aftar by the hokyll bone, that within iij days after he ded'.

And again in 1559, speaking of the entertainment of the French ambassadors, he writes: 'The xxvj day of May they whent . . . to Powles warff and toke barge, and so to Parys Garden for ther was boyth bare and bull baytyng, and the capten with a C. of the gard to kepe rowme for them to see the baytyng.'

In some Accounts relating to the Manor of the Maze there is this entry under 1575: 'Gyven to the master of Paryshe Garden his man for goynge with Thos. Sharples vnto Barmensy Street to see certen maystyve dogges.'[2]

Finally we have the celebrated disaster on Sunday, 13th January 1583, for which I need here only quote Stow's account: 'About foure of the clocke in the afternoone the old underpropped scaffold, round about the Bear garden commonly called Paris Garden . . . overcharged with people fell suddenly down, whereby to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slain and many others sore hurt.'[3]

At the time when Stow wrote the Bear Garden was certainly established in the Clink, and the words used by him suggest that he did not consider the description of the place as Paris Garden to be accurate. The maps of Braun and Agas, the original material of which is at least as old as 1561, show 'The bulle baytyng' and 'The bear baytyng' in the Clink and not in Paris Garden properly so-called. Of the passages just quoted two definitely mention Paris Garden, but only in connexion with the crossing of the river. A third as definitely speaks of 'the bear-baiting on the Bankside'. Thus Crowley is the only early writer who speaks of Paris Garden as the place where the bears were baited. When he wrote it is quite possible that the amphitheatres in the Clink already existed, and that he alluded to Paris Garden in the same loose way as other writers did long after we know for certain that the baiting did not take place at Paris Garden properly so-called. As Mr. Rendle pointed out, we commonly read of 'the sport at Paris Garden' or 'Her Majesty's game at Paris Garden' at a time when some of it [really all] was undoubtedly carried on in the bishop's Liberty of the Clink.[4] I have no doubt that Mr. Ordish had arrived at a sound conclusion when he argued that the references to Paris Garden are to the per-

[1] *Diary* (Camden Soc.), pp. 78, 198.
[2] *Collect. Top. et Gen.* viii, 253.
[3] Stow, *Annales*, p. 696, ed. 1631.
[4] Walford's *Antiquarian Magazine*, viii, 35.

formances at the rings in the Clink, and that Paris Garden was the commonly used name because the spectators, or many of them, came across the water and landed at Paris Garden Stairs not more than a quarter of a mile distant. It can only have been a rooted belief in the fable of Robert Paris and his garden that perpetuated a contrary opinion, and led even Mr. Ordish to qualify his conclusion by stating that 'the fact of the animals being kept in Paris Garden perhaps explains why the sports were spoken of as the Paris-Garden baiting', or that 'the origin of the bear-baiting on the Surrey side was undoubtedly in Paris Garden'.[1]

I do not overlook the frequent references in the *Acts of thePrivy Council* to Ralph, Edward, and Thomas Bowes as masters of the game at Paris Garden from 1574 onwards.[2] These are sufficiently explained by the association of the mastership of the game with the stewardship of Paris Garden, a circumstance which may also have helped towards the common description of the bear-baiting as at Paris Garden. But the references in question contain no proof that the bears were kept at Paris Garden properly so-called. The new matter, to which I am now coming (in the shape of deeds relating to the Bear Garden), shows incidentally that, as one would expect, the beasts were kept there and not at Paris Garden, at the very time to which these references relate.

Amongst Edward Alleyn's papers at Dulwich College there appears a list of 'The Wrightinges of the Bear Garden'.[3] It contains thirty-three deeds together with ten bonds; but, observes Sir G. F. Warner, 'not one of the number is to be found among the muniments'.[4] Some years ago I discovered accidentally amongst the uncatalogued Ancient Deeds at the Public Record Office, five deeds relating to the Bear Garden and neighbouring property, without at the time appreciating their significance and importance. Of these deeds three can be identified certainly with deeds in the Dulwich list, and one possibly. The fifth and most interesting is marked (apparently by Alleyn) 'reves 30', being a lease by one Thomas Burnaby to Richard Reve of a tenement on the Bankside together with the Bear Garden.[5] The corresponding number in the list of Alleyn's writings is described as 'a discharge of deputationes by Burnabe'. One naturally hoped to find some other of the deeds, but a prolonged search has proved fruitless, though I have traced in the printed Catalogue fourteen other deeds relating to property in the same neighbourhood, which undoubtedly belonged to Alleyn, since he has put his name on the back of all or most of them. Alleyn's manuscript at Dulwich contains lists of other deeds besides those of the

[1] *Early London Theatres*, pp. 127, 141.
[2] The reference quoted above, p. 162, is of a similar character.
[3] See p. 177, below.
[4] *Catalogue of Alleyn MSS.*, p. 231.
[5] See p. 170, below.

Bear Garden, but I have failed to identify these fourteen deeds. Though these latter deeds do not relate directly to the Bear Garden they have an indirect bearing on its earlier history.

Probably the deeds were an exhibit at some stage in the litigation between Alleyn and William Henslow, which culminated in a suit in the Court of Exchequer in 1620. With the aid of the Interrogatories and depositions in this suit we are able to recover much of the early history of the Bear Garden.

On 6th March, 1540, Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, leased to William Payne of Southwark, yeoman, for ninety-nine years, the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock, three tenements on the Bankside between Maiden Lane and the river, and bounded by the Rose on the east and the tenement late of the prioress of Stratford on the west.[1] Payne afterwards acquired other property, which together with these tenements came into Alleyn's possession. It is possible that, as suggested above, he was thus early proprietor or licensee of the Bear Garden. More certainly we know that early in the reign of Elizabeth, Payne was master or deputy[2] of her majesty's game of bears, and appears to have made the baiting-place for the bears on the north side of what was afterwards the Hope playhouse towards the Thames, and erected certain scaffolds or standings for people to stand to see the baiting of the bears, which were commonly called Mr. Payne's standings. This comes from the Interrogatories, where it is further stated that they were reputed to be erected by William Payne or Symon Poulton or one of them. John Taylor,[3] the witness who gave the most useful evidence, remembered Payne, who dwelt in the house which in 1620 was called 'the Dauncing Beares', and to his knowledge built the baiting-place in the position described and put up the low scaffold or standing.[4] Who Symon Poulton was does not appear, he may have been a predecessor or partner of Payne. Payne we know died in or before 1574, in which year his widow, then of Avington, Hampshire, leased the Barge to Francis Puckryche.[5] Payne was succeeded by one Wistoe,[6] who usually baited the bears in the same place, as Taylor remembered, 'about forty-five years ago', which takes us back to 1575, but how long Wistoe continued master or deputy Taylor could not say. In one of the Inter-

[1] *Interrogatories*, p. 176, below. The deed of 1540 is recited in a Deed of Joan Payne, widow of William Payne, where the date is given. *Ancient Deeds*, A. 12582. There is mention of The Barge at Southwark adjoining the tenement called The Rose in 1417 (*Anc. Deeds*, D. 895).

[2] I quote the Interrogatory, but Payne was of course only deputy for Cuthbert Vaughan.

[3] Not, as Mr. Ordish (p. 139) supposes, the 'Water-poet', who was not born till 1580, whereas the witness was born about 1543.

[4] p. 176, below.

[5] p. 171, below.

[6] Called Wistoe by Alleyn (p. 177, below), and Wistow or Wiston in the *Interrogatories* (p. 176 below).

rogatories inquiry was made whether Wistoe or Pope did not in place of the said scaffolds or standings have certain galleries built about the baiting-place. A further inquiry was made as to on what reason or occasion and when this was done, but produced no information. We can, however, scarcely doubt that 'Payne's standings' were the 'old underpropped scaffold' which fell down so disastrously in 1583, and that the erection of the more permanent galleries was due to either Wistoe or Morgan Pope. Whether Wistoe was succeeded by Pope immediately seems doubtful; Alleyn's list of deeds suggests that there was an intermediary called John Napton who occupied before 1590 one of the tenements connected with the Bear-garden.[1] But Pope, who was a London goldsmith, may possibly have come on the scene when a man of means was required after the disaster of 1583.[2] Mr. Ordish described him as 'the first lessee or manager of the Bear house under Ralph Bowes'.[3] This of course is inaccurate, but Pope certainly held the position in November, 1585, when he obtained an exemplification of the grant of the mastership to Bowes made in 1573. Pope's tenancy lasted some years, for in October, 1587, he obtained from one John Bixon an assignment of the lease of a garden plot, sometime parcel of the Old Bear-garden, which afterwards came into the possession of Alleyn, who endorsed the document as 'The lease of my garden by the beare-garden'.[4] Probably Pope disposed of the Bear Garden to one Hayes, who transferred it to Thomas Burnaby; for two of the deeds in Alleyn's list are 'Pope to Hayes, his poll deed' and 'Hayes to Burnaby'. In November, 1590, Thomas Burnaby of Watford, Northants., gentleman, leased from one David Watson a garden behind the Bear Garden, that is to say on its south side, and covenanted to fence this piece of ground and also the Bear Garden 'in such manner as the said David (who retained another garden further west) shall not receive any losses, spoil, hurt, or damage by reason of any dogs, bears, or otherwise.[5] Here we have clear evidence that the dogs and bears were kept at the Bear-garden, and we get similar proof elsewhere. In 1620 one Interrogatory was as to a piece of garden ground or dog-yard. John Baxter said he knew the houses erected on the dog-yard; first one house was built for the young bears, whilst there was another house for white bears. (The use of this latter cannot have been till James I's time.) Taylor knew the land used by Pope and Burnaby for a dog-yard, and the houses built thereon. From another Interrogatory it appears that the bull-house was also erected on part of the dog-yard. And from a further Interro-

[1] See p. 174 below.
[2] The scaffolds were new builded before 3rd July, 1583, *Remembrancia*, p. 16.
[3] *Early Theatres*, p. 204.
[4] See p. 172, below. The 'Old Bear Garden' must in this place refer to one of the earliest sites.
[5] See p. 173, below.

gatory and the Depositions it appears that there was once a pond on ground belonging to the Bear Garden, which served for the washing of the bears.[1]

Whether Thomas Burnaby, who was clearly proprietor of the Bear Garden in November, 1590, actually managed it may be doubted, though it was from him that Alleyn purchased it in December, 1594, for 200 *l.*[2] Very probably Burnaby leased the actual management, for in December, 1590, he let to Richard Reve, citizen and glazier of London, 'the Beare Garden and the scaffolds, houses, game, and dogs, and all other things thereunto appertaining together with the grounds now in the occupation of the said Thomas Burnaby', to hold them for a term of seven years at a rent of 130 *l.*, Reve taking 'the commodities and profits of the game and grounds, excepting such fees as shall from henceforth be payable to the master of the said game'. It was provided that at the end of the term Reve should deliver up the premises well and sufficiently repaired, 'together with all the bears, bulls, dogs, and other things contained in a schedule hereunto annexed, or the several prices contained in the said schedule at the election and choice of the said Thomas Burnaby'.

The Schedule is perhaps the most interesting, and certainly the most amusing of all the new documents. Hitherto the only complete list of the bulls and bears is that given by Taylor the water-poet half a century later.[3] Burnaby's list[4] has three bulls, five great bears, four other bears, a horse, and the ape, and a pudding boat. Although in the Deed the Schedule is referred to as including dogs, none as a matter of fact appear. In 1592 Frederick of Wurtemberg, during his visit to London, went to see the bear-baiting, and states that he was shown the English dogs of which there were about 120, all kept in the same enclosure but each in a separate kennel.[5] This of course was in Burnaby's time. Taylor, the water-poet, in 1638 speaks of seventy mastiffs. Whilst Burnaby had only nine bears, fifty years later there were as many as nineteen. Both in Burnaby's Schedule and in Taylor's list the names of all the bears are given; there is a similarity in style, such as Harry of Tame, George of Cambridge, and

[1] See pp. 175–77 below. A pond appears in Braun's map; it may have been one of the old fish-ponds; see p. 170.

[2] See p. 178, below.

[3] *Bull, Beare and Horse*, published in 1638. Since it is not very accessible I give the list here. 'Heare follows the Names of the Bulls and Beares at the Beare Garden now. The Bulls are: 1. Goldilocks. 2. Emperour. 3. Dash. 4. Jugler. The Beares are: 1. Ned of Canterbury. 2. George of Cambridge. 3. Don John. 4. Ben Hunt. 5. Nan Stiles. 6. Besse of Ipswich. 7. Robin Hood. 8. Blind Robin. 9. Judith of Cambridge. 10. Besse Hill. 11. Kate of Kent. 12. Rose of Bedlam. 13. Nan Talbot. 14. Moll Cutpurse. 15. Nell of Holland. 16. Mad Besse. 17. Will Tookey. 18. Besse Runner. 19. Tom Dogged.' Mad Besse and Will Tookey were 'White Beares'.

[4] See p. 175, below.

[5] Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 45.

Bess and Nan for she bears. But though one might have expected the names of famous bears to be repeated, none of Burnaby's names are exactly reproduced in Taylor's list. Sir Sidney Lee, in his article on 'Bear-baiting and Bull-baiting' in *Shakespeare's England*,[1] says that, 'At the end of the sixteenth century fighting bears called respectively George Stone, Harry Hunks, Tom of Lincoln, and above all Sackerson were for the sporting public of London vulgar idols'. None of these names appear amongst Burnaby's bears. But Nash, writing in 1593 in his *Four Letters Confuted*, speaks of betousing 'Harry of Tame and Great Ned'. Harry of Tame was one of Burnaby's bears. The bears can have had but short lives, and it is not strange that we should not find more references to Burnaby's bears. One, however, was called 'Tom Hunckes', and Hunks seems to have been a common name, so Dekker, in 1609, writes of 'a company of creatures that had the shapes of men and faces of Christians took the office of beadles upon them, and whipped Monsieur Hunks till the blood ran down his old shoulders'. About the same date John Davies, in one of his epigrams, describes how the idle law-student goes to Paris Garden for his recreation, where he skips about among the bears and dogs till his satin doublet and velvet hose resemble his father's country hall:

> Stinking of dogs and muted all with hawks,
> And rightly too on him this filth doth fall
> Which for such filthy sport his books forsakes,
> Leaving old Plowden, Dyer and Brooke alone
> To see old Harry Hunks and Sacarson.

In some lines by Henry Peacham prefixed to Coryat's *Crudities* in 1611, there is reference to

> Hunks of the Beare-garden to be feared if he be nigh on.

As for the bulls Burnaby had three, and in Taylor's list there are only four. Both lists include a bear called Jugler.

An interesting feature of Burnaby's list is the prices, ranging from 30*s.* for an old she bear called Nan to 10*l.* for Tom Hunckes and 8*l.* for Harry of Tame.

The history of the horse and ape seems to be worth giving. The baiting of the horse and ape appeared as a very laughable incident in 1544. Thomas Cartwright, the famous Puritan divine, in his *Admonition to Parliament* written in 1572, makes reference to 'a beare or a bull to be baited or else a jackanapes to

[1] p. 432. 'Tom of Lincoln' is referred to in the Duke of Newcastle's play, *The Humorous Lovers*, in 1617.

ride on horseback'. Frederick of Wurtemberg, when he visited London in 1592, was taken 'to see the baiting of bears and bulls and monkeys that ride on horseback'.[1] Rowland White, writing to Sir Robert Sidney on 12th May, 1600, informed him that 'to-morrow the Queen hath commanded the beares, the bull and the ape to be baited in the Tiltyard'.[2]

A supposed play-bill of the Bear Garden under the management of Alleyn and Henslow ends with the announcement, 'and for your better content you shall have pleasant sport with the horse and ape'.[3]

Taylor, the water-poet, in his description of the Bear Garden in 1638, concludes with:[4]

> A male and female ape, kind Jacke and Jugge,
> Who with sweet compliments do kiss and hugge,
> And lastly there is Jackanapes his horse,
> A beast of fiery fortitude and force.

When after the Restoration, in the last days of the baiting on the Bankside, Evelyn went for once to see the butcherly sport, the performance ended with the ape on horseback, which had thus kept its place in the entertainment from the earliest to the latest notice that we have of the baiting on the Bankside. Evelyn was 'heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime'. Even Pepys, though he saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs, one into the very boxes, thought it a very rude and nasty pleasure. Yet less than a century before, the performance of plays on Sundays had been prohibited, lest they might interfere with the bear-baiting, which was maintained for her Majesty's pleasure, and James I really enjoyed the butcherly sport, though he had a more particular fancy for the baiting of lions.

But the history of the Bear Garden, after its purchase from Burnaby, under the management of Alleyn and Henslow, and in its later days, has been dealt with too fully before to make it necessary for me to enter on it any further.[5]

There is, however, one point in the Interrogatories of 1620, which though not entirely new seems to call for comment. The witness Taylor, in reply to a question: 'In how many severall places on the Bankside have the game of Bears and bear-baytyng been formerly kept?' answered that: 'He remembreth that the game of bear-bayting hath been kept in four severall places, viz. at

[1] W. B. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 61.

[2] Collins, *Sidney Papers*, ii, 194.

[3] *Catalogue of Alleyn MSS.*, p. 83. It appears to be one of Collier's forgeries.

[4] *Bull, Beare, and Horse, ap.* Spenser Society, Third Collection.

[5] I should mention, however, the quite recent article on 'The Bear-Garden Contract of 1606 and what it implies', by Mr. J. Lawrence and Mr. W. H. Godfrey, F.S.A., *Architectural Review*, June, 1920.

Mason Steares on the Bankside, near Maidlane by the corner of the Pyke Garden, and at the Beare Garden which was parcel of the possession of William Payne, and the place where they are now kept.'[1] On this Mr. Rendle remarked: 'the two latter were—the one at the north curtilage in the lane, known as the Bear Garden, the other at the south curtilage in the same lane, known as the New Bear Garden, otherwise the Hope.'[2] Mr. Ordish identified the Bear Garden which was parcel of the possession of William Payne with the Bear house shown in Norden's map. This is borne out by the definite statement of Taylor, in reply to another Interrogatory, that William Payne 'built a place to bait the beares in the outer court towards the Thames northwards from the now Hope Playhouse'. It is to be noted that in Stone's lease to Richard Ballard in August 1578, reference is made to the 'Old Bear Garden'. So that we have here additional evidence of the existence of a Bear Garden before the one erected by William Payne. Mr. Ordish in one place seems to be in doubt whether Payne's Bear Garden was identical with the Bear house shown in Norden's map of 1593.[3] In another place [4] he definitely identifies the two places at Mason Steares, and near Maid Lane by the corner of the Pyke Garden, with 'the two shown in our map', meaning I suppose Braun and Hogenberg's map. It is rather difficult to be certain, but I suggest that whilst the 'bull-baytyng' of Braun and of Agas may be the place by Mason Stairs not far from the river, the place by Maid Lane by the corner of the Pyke Garden must have been further south. The 'beare bayting' of Braun and of Agas might in that case represent Payne's building, which subsequently came to be known as the Old Bear Garden.[5] The original material of Braun and Hogenberg's map dates from 1554–8, and the original of the Agas map was perhaps not later than 1561. The map in William Smith's Particular Description of England, which is dated about 1580,[6] shows similarly two rings side by side, on a line running west and east. It is, however, impossible to place complete confidence in the topographical detail of these early maps, and it would not perhaps be safe to argue further than that at the date to which they belong there were two separate rings in existence, both in the Clink.

As regards the dates of the several rings, we know that Payne's building was erected not later than 1573, and it is likely that the date was at least some years earlier. The place at the corner of the Pyke Garden cannot therefore be much later than 1560, and the original place at Mason Stairs may have been

[1] See p. 177, below.
[2] Walford, *Antiquarian Magazine*, viii, 57.
[3] *Early London Theatres*, p. 201.
[4] *Id.*, p. 140.
[5] Though not unnaturally in 1578 one of the buildings further west was so designated.
[6] Edited by H. B. Wheatley and E. W. Ashbee in 1879. The London map is pl. xxviii.

a good bit earlier. We know that Payne's place was in the curtilage north of the Hope, and its site is therefore to be identified certainly with the Bear-house shown in Norden's map. As to the fourth place, there is of course no question that it is the New Bear Garden, which became the Hope Playhouse in 1614, and eventually reverted to its original use.

On the site of the earlier Bear Gardens Alleyn's deeds at the Public Record Office throw a little light. In his 'List of Wrightinges' appears '16 Ballard's lease to Pope', which on the original is more particularly described by Alleyn as 'The lease of my garden by the beare-garden'. This indicates that it was a separate property. The document is as a matter of fact an assignment to Pope in 1587 by one John Bixon of a lease which he had acquired from Richard Ballard, to whom in 1578 Thomas Stone had let 'all that garden plot with the appurtenances sometime parcell of the Old Bear-Garden'. The date shows that by the Old Bear Garden must be meant one of the baiting-places in use before Payne built the Bear Garden on the site in the north curtilage.[1]

At the Public Record Office we have a series of deeds which relate to property lying a little further west than the Bear Garden and Hope Theatre. The earliest is a quit-claim in 1362 by Simon de Thorneham to John Trig, both fishmongers, of a garden with pools therein situated in St. Margaret's, Southwark.[2] Seventy years later we have the description of another property in the same district as a garden with houses, ponds, and ditches at 'Le Stywes', with ingress and egress from the street by a door and alley, lying between the garden of William Caundyssh on the east, a way from Maiden Lane to St. John's Mills and the garden of Edward Southworth on the west, the gardens of William Flete and Edward Southworth on the north, and by Maiden Lane on the south.[3] In 1465 the garden which had belonged to John Trig had come into the possession of Christopher Banaster, a fishmonger.[4] His son John sold it in 1483,[5] but it is still called Banaster's garden when in 1499 it was acquired by John Merston and others (all again fishmongers), and is described as containing 3 acres with 4 cottages, 17 ponds, and a wharf.[6] Merston and his associates also acquired in 1477 the property adjoining Maiden Lane and the gardens of Candisshe and Southworth.[7] They had also acquired in 1470 a piece of ground called a void place abutting on Maiden Lane on the south and on Banaster's land on the west, and on the east the tenement of the prioress of Stratford.[8] John Merston's son and namesake in 1533 sold to Thomas Taillour both the void place, and the

[1] See p. 172, below. [2] *Anc. Deeds*, C. 6362. [3] C. 5214.
[4] C. 4200. [5] C. 3227. [6] C. 3419. [7] C. 4357.
[8] C. 3221 and 4711. Payne's property had the prioress of Stratford's tenement on the west; see p. 176, below.

garden with an entry from the highway and lying between the garden late of Candisshe and Banaster on the north and Maiden Lane on the south.[1]

All these lands and gardens were clearly in the same area as the later Pyke Gardens, and since all or part of them were in the tenure of Pope and Alleyn, it seems reasonable to conjecture that they had formed part of the premises of the earlier Bear Gardens and were retained as useful ground by the proprietors of the later Bear Garden erected by William Payne.[2]

I. DEEDS RELATING TO EDWARD ALLEYN'S PROPERTY, NOW PRESERVED AT THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

The five Deeds here given clearly related to Alleyn's property in the Bear Garden and its neighbourhood, though only three of them can be identified positively with deeds in his list at Dulwich College. There are also a number of other deeds which have endorsements showing that they belonged to Alleyn, but they are all of much earlier date, and do not directly concern the Bear Garden; as to these Deeds see further p. 170 above.

(1) Joan Payne's Lease of 'the Barge' to Francis Puckryche.

11 Nov. 1574.

This Indenture made the Eleventh daye of November in the Syxteneth yere of the Reign of our Souereygn Ladye Elyzabeth by the grace of God &c. Betwene Johan Payne of Avyngton in the Countye of Sowthampton, wydowe, late the wyfe of Wylliam Payne, and Admynistratrix of the goodes and Catelles of the said Wylliam Payne, of thone partie, and Francys Puckryche of Grenewich in the Countye of Kent, yoman of the other partye: Wytnessith that the said Johan Payne demysed, graunted and to fferme letten, and by theis presentes dothe demyse, graunte and to fferme lett to the said Fraunceys Puckryche hire Mesuage with thappurtenaunces, sometyme called the Barge, lyinge and beynge in the paryshe of St. Savers in Southwark in the Countye of Surr., betwene the Tenemente called the Roose towardes theste and the Tenement nowe in thoccupacion of John Brewes toward the weste, and abbuttyth vppon the wharfe towardes the Northe and vppon the Beare howse towarde the Southe, nowe in thoccupacion of William Glover and Johan Gravesend, wydowe, or of theire assignes: To have and to holde the said Messuage called the barge with thappurtenaunces to the said ffrancis Puckryche, his Executours and assignes from the feaste of the Byrthe of Chryste called Christmas next cominge after the date hereof vnto thende and terme of Twentie and one yeres from thensforthe nexte and Imedyatlye followynge fullie to be complete and ended: yeldinge and

[1] C. 7225 and 7403.

[2] It will be observed how many of the holders of these pieces of ground were fishmongers. The explanation, no doubt, is that they had their stews in the ponds in the Pyke Garden. This suggests that the original meaning of 'the Stews' in Southwark was simply the fish-ponds. When the district became notorious for houses of ill-fame, the transition of the name to its other meaning would have been easy. I am disposed to hazard the conjecture that Bankside was the name for the row of houses towards the east facing the river, and Stewes-side for the row of houses further west backing on the Stews or fish-ponds of Pyke Garden.

payinge therefore yerelie . . . fyftye three shillings and four pence. [*Covenants in case of default, for repairs, etc.*]

Endorsed: Edward Jerves for iij years rent and one quarter viij l. xiij s. iiij d. for all thes rent of thes lesses yov sett the yeare of our lord god 1582: thes rent was sens . . .

From Ancient Deeds, C. 8582

(2) Thomas Stone's Lease to Richard Ballard.

21 August 1578.

Lease by 'Thomas Stone of the parishe of St. Saviour in Southwark in the county of Surr., yoman,' to 'Richard Ballard, of the parishe and countye aforesaid, hosyer', of 'all that garden plott w^th^ thappurtenaunces sometymes parcell of the old Beare Garden', for sixteen years from Michaelmas last at a rent of 20 *s.* payable quarterly.

Recited at length in Bixon's assignment of Ballard's lease to Pope.

Marked on the back: 19.

From Ancient Deeds, C. 8584.

(3) Bixon's Assignment of Ballard's Lease to Pope.

5 October 1587.

To all men to whome this present wryting shall come I, John Bixon of the parish of St Savioure in Sowthwark in the countye of Surrye, gardiner, send greeting in our Lord God euerlastinge. Whereas Thomas Stone of the parish of St. Saviour in Sowthwark aforesaid, yoman, by his Indenture of lease bearinge date the xxj^th^ daie of August 1578 and in the xx^th^ yeare of the raigne of our soueraigne ladie Elizabethe, the Queenes Ma^tye^ that nowe is, for the consideracion therein expressed did demise, graunt, betake and to ferme lette vnto Richard Ballarde of the parish and countye aforesaid, hosier, All that garden plott w^th^ th'appurtenaunces sometimes parcell of the Olde Beare garden, sett, lyeing and being in the said parish of St Saviour in Sowthwark aforesaid, then in the tenure or occupacion of the said Richard Ballarde in as lardge and ample manner and forme as the said Rychard then helde and occupied the same: To have and to holde the said garden plott, before mentioned to be demised, in as large and ample manner and forme as abovesaid to the said Richard Ballard, his executors and assignes, from the feast of St. Michell Th'archaungell then last past before the Date of the same Indenture unto th'ende and terme of Sixteene yeares from thence nexte insueinge and fullie to be compleate and ended, for such yearlye rent and under the performaunce of such other agreement as in the same Indenture is mentioned and expressed as in and by the same more plainelie maie appeare: Thinterest, estate and terme of yeares of w^ch^ said Rychard Ballard of and in the said garden plott is nowe sithence by paroll conveyed and assigned over unto me the said John Bixon. Nowe know ye, that I, the said John Bixon, for and in consideracion of the soome of ffortye three shillinges and fowre pence of lawfull English monie to me before the ensealing hereof in hand paid by Morgan Pope, Cittisen and goldsmith of London, . . . sett over . . . to the said Morgan, As well the saide Recited Indenture of lease, as also all the state Right, title, Interest, claime, purpartye and demawnd whatsoeuer of me the said John Bixon of in and to the said garden plott by virtue of the said Indenture, assignement by paroll or otherwise howsoeuer: To have and to hold the said garden plott . . . during all the residewe yett to come vnexpired, of the same terme of xvj yeares graunted in and by the said Indenture of

lease: [*Covenants as to lawful title, etc.*] In wytnes whereof I have hereunto put my seale the fiveth daie of October in the xxixth yeare of the raigne of our said soueraigne ladie Queene Elizabeth. Iohn Byxsun.

Endorsed: 'Balardes lease to Pope. 16. The lease of my garden by the bearegarden.'

From Ancient Deeds, C. 8579.

(4) Watson's Lease to Burnaby.

10 Nov. 1590.

This Indenture made the Tenthe daie of November in the two and Thirtith yere of the reigne of our soueraigne ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God &c. Betwene David Wattsonn of the paryshe of St. Salviors in Southwarke in the countie of Surrey, taylor, on thone partie, and Thomas Bvrnabey of Watforde in the Countie of Northt., gentleman, on thother partie: Witnesseth that the saide Davide Wattson for divers good causes and consideracions him herevnto moving hath demised, graunted and to ferme letten, and by theis presentes doth demise, graunte and to ferme lett vnto the saide Thomas Bvrnabey all that pece or parcell of Grounde, gardeine or gardein plott wth thappurtenaunces nowe inclosed by the saide Thomas Bvrnabey and beinge in the tenure or occupacion of the saide Thomas Bvrnabey, and late in thoccupacion of the said David Wattsonne, lyinge and beinge in the paryshe of Salviors aforesaide behinde the bearegardein there and lately divided and taken from a gardein or gardein plott to the same next adioyninge on the West side, nowe in thoccupacion of the saide Davide or his assignes and late beinge parte and parcell of the same garden, w^{ch} saide demised gardein wth thappurtenaunces is extendinge and boundinge as herevnder is mentiond, viz. on the bearegarden towards the northe, the common sewer or ditche towardes the southe, and the gardein nowe in thoccupacion of the saide Davide or his assignes towardes the Weste: To haue and to holde the saide gardein or gardein plott wth thappurtenaunces vnto the saide Thomas Bvrnabey, his executours, administrators and assignes from the feaste daie of Thannunciacion of our blessed Virgine Marie laste paste before the date hereof unto thende and terme of Twentie and one yeres from thence nexte ensuinge and fullie to be compleate and ended: Yeldinge and Payinge therefore yerelie duringe the saide terme vnto the saide David Wattsonne, his executours and administratours or assignes, Sixe poundes of lawefull monney of Englande att two vsuall feastes in the yere, that is to say at the feast of St Michell tharchaungell and thannunciacion of our blessed Virgine Marie by even porcions. [*Provision for re-entry in case of default.*] And the saide Thomas Bvrnabey, for him, his executours and administratours, doth covenaunte and graunte to and wth the saide Davide Wattsonne, his executours, administratours and assignes by theis presentes in manner and forme followinge, that is to saie that he the said Thomas Bvrnabey, his executours, administratours or assignes, from tyme to tyme duringe the saide terme when and as often as nede shall require shall and will repaire, make, maynetaine and amende in and by all meanes of reparacions whatsoeuer as well the fence, pale and inclosure devidinge and seperatinge the demised premisses and the gardein of the saide Davide Watsonne, as also the fences, pale and inclosures of the bearegardeine in suche convenient manner as the saide Davide, his executours or assignes, shall not receave anie losses, spoyle, hurte or damadge in his gardein aforesaid by reason of anie dogges, beares or otherwise. [*Burnaby covenants to cleanse the ditches and to leave the premises in repair at the end of the term. Watson covenants for peaceable possession.*] Yeven the daie and yere firste above wrytten. 1590.

The marke X of the saide David Watson.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of me George Martin, notarie publique.

Endorsed: Davyd Watson his[1] lease to M^{r} Burneby made anno 1590. 24.

From Ancient Deeds, C. 8578.

[1] I copied the first three words when I first saw the deed: they are not now visible.

(5) Thomas Burnaby's Lease to Richard Reve.

15 December 1590.

This Indenture made the ffyftenth daye of December in the Two and Thirtyth yere of the reigne of our souereigne ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God &c., Betwene Thomas Burnebye of Watforde in the countye of Northt., esquyer, of the one partie, and Richarde Reve, cytizen and glasier of London, of the other partie: Witnesseth that the said Thomas Burnebie for dyvers consideracions hym movinge hath demysed, graunted and to ferme letten, and by theise presentes doth demyse, graunt and to ferme lett unto the said Rychard Reve all that Tenemente wherein one John Napton, deceased, did latelie inhabyte and dwell, sett and beinge on the Bankesyde in the parishe of St Saviour in Southwarke in the countye of Surrey, in as ample manner as the sayd John Napton occupyed and enioyed the same: Togeather w^{t} the Beare garden and the Scaffoldes, houses, game and dogges, and all other thinges therevnto apperteyninge together wth the groundes nowe in the tenure or occupacion of the sayd Thomas Burnebie neare or adioyninge to the sayd Beare garden: To have and to hold the said Tenemente and all other the premisses, together wth the comodyties and proffittes of the game and groundes there from tyme to tyme, exceptinge such fees as shalbe from henceforth due and payable to the maister of the said game, unto the sayde Richard Reve, his executours and assignes, from the daye of the date of theise presentes unto the ende and tearme of Seaven yeares next ensuinge and fully to be compleate and ended. Yieldinge and payinge therefore yerelie vnto the sayd Thomas Burnebie, his executours and assignes, the some of one hundred and Twentye poundes of lawfull money of Englande, in manner and forme followynge: that is to saye att thensealinge of theise presentes the some of threescore poundes, whereof the sayd Thomas Burnebie acknowledgeth hymself fully satisfied and payde, and thereof and of euery parcell thereof doth clearelie acquyte and discharge the sayd Richard Reve, his executours, and administratours, by theise presentes, and in the feast of the Natyvitie of S^{t} John Baptiste next and ymeadyatlie followinge other threescore poundes at the sayd Tenemente, and on the fyftenth daye of December then next followinge other Threescore poundes, and so from daye to daye and feaste to feaste the severall somes in forme aforesayde. And the sayd Richard Reve, for hym, his executours and assignes, covenaunteth and graunteth to and wth the sayd Thomas Burnebie, his executours and assignes, by theise presentes: That he the sayde Richard Reve, his executours and assignes, shall from tyme to tyme duringe the sayd tearme well and sufficientlie performe all such covenauntes and seruices as on the behalf of the sayd Thomas Burnebie, his executours or assignes, are and oughte to be performed and kepte, and shall in the ende of the sayd tearme leave and yeilde vppe the sayd Tenemente and other the premisses vnto the saide Thomas Burnebie, his executours or assignes, well and sufficientlie repayred and amended, togeather wth all the beares, bulles, dogges and other thinges conteyned in a scedule herevnto anexed, or the severall pryzes conteyned in the sayd scedule at the eleccion and Choyse of the sayd Thomas Burnebye, his executours and assignes. [*Covenants for peaceable possession, and better assurance. Provision for voidance in case of default.*] In Witnesse whereof the parties aforesayde to theise presente Indentures interchaungeablie have sett theire seales. Yeoven the daye and yeare above wrytten, 1590.

Signed Per me Richardū Reve.

Endorsed: 'reves 30'.

From Ancient Deeds, C. 8581.

The Schedule of Bulls and Bears.

Annexed to the foregoing.

A Scedule Indented of all the Bulles, Beares, horses and apes w^ch^ are remaynynge in the sayd Beare garden to be deliuered to the sayd Thomas Burnebie, his executours or assignes, or the pryses of them at thende of the sayd tearme of Seaven yeres as followeth: viz.

In primis, one Brinded Bull, the pryce, v. li.
Item, one blacke Bull called Danyell, at iiij. li.
Item, one greate beare called Tom Hunckes, x. li.
Item, one greate beare called Harry of Tame, at viij. li.
Item, one red Bull called Jugler, at iiij. li.
Item, one greate beare called Harry of Warwicke, viij. li.
Item, one greate beare called Jeremy, at viij. li.
Item, one greate beare called Sampson, at viij. li.
Item, one beare called Danyell, at vj. li.
Item, one she beare called Bosse, at v. li.
Item, one yonge he beare called Whitinge, iij. li.
Item, one old she beare called Nan, xxx. s.
Item, one horse and the ape, at xl. s.
Item, one Pudding boate, (?) ij. li.[1]

II. THE PRINCIPAL INTERROGATORIES AND DEPOSITIONS IN THE LAWSUIT IN 1620.

[The chief subject in dispute was the Great Rose; only such Interrogatories and Depositions as have reference to the Bear Garden are given or summarized here. The original is in *Exchequer Depositions by Commission*, 18 Jas. I. Mich. 10.]

Interrogatories to be ministred to Witnesses to be examined on the parte and behalf of the Kinges Mat^ies^ Attorney Generall, plt., against Willm. Henslow, gent. and Jacob Mead, defendts.

4. Do you know certain lands called the Kings Mat^ies^ lands on the Banck side . . . holden under a lease . . . made by the late Quene Elizabeth to Thomas Keyes and Isabell his wife? Are the said lands called the Great Rose parcell thereof?

7. Did you know one David Watson to hold or enjoy any parts of the said lands as undertenant to the said Keyes or his wife?

George Yong, aged 60, deposed that Keyes demised the land to David Watson and Thomas Stowe.

Elizabeth ffoke, aged 70, deposed that David Watson was undertenant to Keyes.

8. Did you know a parcel of land heretofore used by Pope and Burnaby for a dog-yard? Is the said garden ground or dog-yard commonly held . . . to be the Kings Mat^ies^ land? . . . How is or ought the said dog-yard to be butted or bounded?

John Baxter, aged 57, deposed that he knew the houses erected on the dog-yard, which he heard was in the occupation of Pope and Burnaby. First one house was thereon built, called the house for the young beares; there is another house for the white beares and the playhouse

[1] The MS. is defective.

called the Hope, which were erected and built by Phillip Henslow and now held in the possession of Jacob Meade.

John Taylor, aged 77, deposed that he knew the land used by Pope and Burnaby for a dog-yard, and thought it was the Queen's land.

13. Do you know or have you heard of one William Payne, who was master or deputie of the late Quene Elizabeth her Ma^ties^ game of Beares? Where did he dwell? How long is it sithence he died? Where or in what place did he in his lief tyme make or set the baytyng place for the Beares? Was it in the Orchard Court northwards towards the Thames from the said Hope plaiehouse? Was and is that place where the sayd Baytyng was sett commonly reputed, known, or taken to be the Bishop of Winchesters land in ryght of his bishoprick?

John Taylor, deposed: he knew William Paine who dwelt in the house which now is called the Dauncing Beares, he died about forty years since. Close by the house wherein he dwelt he built a place to bait the beares, and it was in the outer court towards the Thames northwards from the now Hope Playhouse, and was the bishop of Winchesters land, because he hath seen the lease and heard it read.

14. Did you know or have you heard of certain scaffolds or standinges heretofore erected or set up for people to stand to see the baytyng of the beares? Were they commonly called M^r^ Paynes standinges, or reputed, knowne or said to be erected by the said William Payne and Symon Poulton, or one of them? Where or in what place or in what manner of fashion were the said standinges erected or set up? Was the place where the said standinges were set knowne or reputed or taken to be parcell of the Bishop of Winchester's lands?

John Taylor, deposed, he knew the low scaffolds or standings and that they were erected by Payne or Poulton and built on the Bishops land.

15. Did one Wistow succeed the said Payne to be Master or Deputie of the said game of Beares? Did he usually baite the beares in the same place made or used by the said Payne for that purpose in the said utter Court or Yard? When did the said Wistowe . . . first become Master or Deputie of the sayd Game? How long did he so continue? Did he or Morgan Pope . . . cause or procure instead of the said scaffoldes or standinges certaine galleries to be built about the said baytyng place? Upon what reason or occasion and when and how long since was the same donne? Where or in what place were the same galleries sett? Were they set in the said utter Court? Were they larger in circuit and compasse than the fformer called William Paynes standings, and were they held . . . to be erected . . . on the said Bishop of Winchesters land?

John Taylor deposed: Wiston did succeed Paine as deputy of the game of Beares and did usually bayte the beares in the same place in the outer Court or yard: Wiston was master or deputy of the game about five and forty years agoe: but how long he continued Master of them, deponent knoweth not: whether Pope . . . did build any standinges or gallery or noe, this deponent knoweth not.

Interrogatories on behalf of the Bishop of Winchester.

3. Do you know that Stephen, late bishop of Winchester, in 31 Henry VIII made a lease of The Barge, The Bell and the Cock upon the Banck called The Stewes to William Payne of Southwark, yeoman, for 99 years?[1] Were they not bounded by the Thames north, the Rose east, a tenement formerly of the Prioress of Stratford west, and Maiden lane, south?

John Taylor deposed: he believed this was so and had seen the lease.

[1] See p. 164 above.

4. Do you know that by force of the said lease William Payne and his assigns have enjoyed the said tenements?

John Taylor deposed: Payne and his assigns have and do enjoy.

10. Who had the interest of the lease before it was conveyed to Henslow in 36 Elizabeth? (*No answers*).

11. Do you know the messuages and lands since called the Beare garden and how long have you known them?

12. Was the now Bear Garden and the messuages thereunto belonging ever more accompted and reputed parcell of the bishop of Winchesters land?

John Taylor deposed: they were so reputed. Peter Tompson, aged 62, deposed: they have always been so accompted.

14. In how many severall places on the Banckside have the game of Beares and Beare baytyng been formerly kept?

John Taylor deposed: 'He remembered that the game of bearbaytyng hath been kept in foure severall places, to wet at Mason steares on the Bank-Side, neere Maid Lane by the corner of the Pyke Garden, and at the Beare garden which was parcell of the possession of William Payne, and the place where they are now kept.'

16. Do you know or have you heard that there was once a pond between the now dwelling houses of Michell Fraunces and the house of George Farlong, which did belong to the Bear Garden and served for the washeing of the Beares?

John Taylor: knew there was such a pond which was so used.

Luce Bachelor: there was such a pond but it is now filled up.

17. Whether the ground where the Bull house now stands was not the dog-yard belonging to the Bear garden?

John Taylor: it was anciently a dog-yard.

III. EDWARD ALLEYN'S DEEDS.

In MS. viii, ff. 43, 44 at Dulwich College, Edward Alleyn has given a list of his deeds relating to the Bear Garden. None of them are now preserved amongst his other muniments. But Nos. 16 (Ballardes lease to Pope) and 19 (Ballardes lease) and 24 (Watson's lease to Burnabie) are amongst the *Ancient Deeds* at the Record Office and are given above, on pp. 172–3. Thomas Burnaby's lease to Richard Reve is numbered 30 (see p. 174, above) and may possibly be intended by No. 30 in Alleyn's list—'a discharge of deputationes by Burnabe'. Since the titles of Alleyn's Deeds throw a little light on the history of the Bear Garden it is worth giving his list in full.

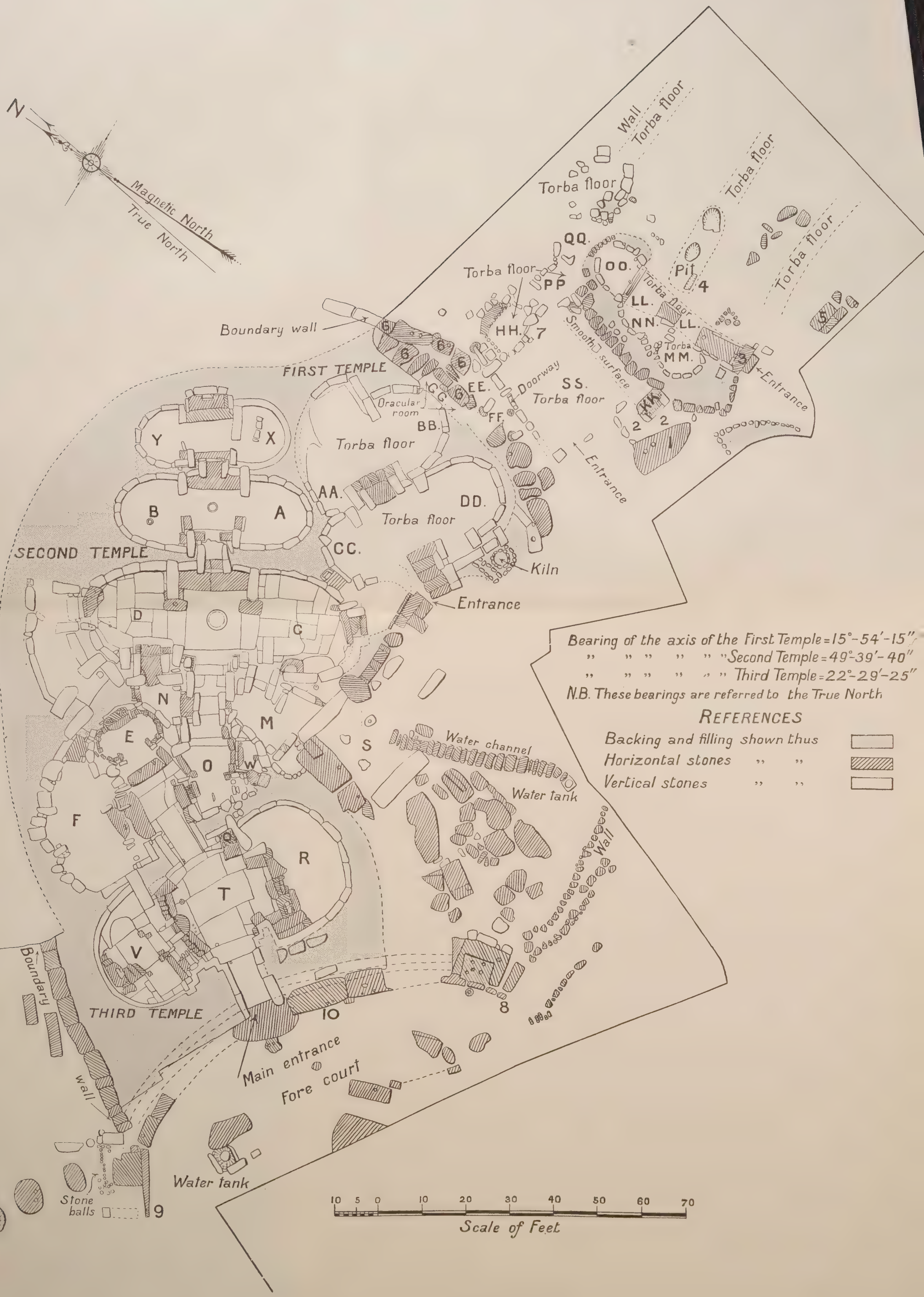
'The wrightings of the bear-garden. 1. Jone Payne[1] to Wistoe, the ratification. 2. Jone Paynes lease to Burnes of the house. 3. Glouer to Wistoe, the assignement of the iner garden. 4. Wistoes sayle to Napton[2] of Paynes lease. 5. On other Indenture of Wistoes to Napton, wth a sedule anixed. 6. Wistoes Indenture of ratification. 7. John Bowes to John Napton, the assignement of his house. 8. From Napton to Pope and Diges. 9. From Napton to Diges of convayance of the house. 10. Diges and Pope to Pope. 11. Diges to Pope, convayance of the house. 12. John Napton to Pope. 13. John Napton to Pope, of the house. 14. Glouer to Pope for a post. 15. Daniel Watson to Pope. 16. Ballardes lease to Pope. 17. Morgin Pope and Edward Boes. 18. Rafe Boes and Edward Boes to Morgin Pope.

[1] See p. 164 above. [2] See 165 above.

19. Ballards lease. 20. Pope to Hayes, his pole deede. 21. Hayes to Burnabie. 22. Rafe Boes & Edward Boes to Burnabie. 23. A lease from Moltus to Burnabie. 24. Watsons lease to Burnabie. 25. Keyses leases to Burnabie. 26. Burnabie to Edward Alleyn. 27. Agayne, Burnabie to Edward Alleyn. 28. Burnabie to Edward Alleyn. 29. Burnabie and Hayes to Edward Alleyn. 30. A discharge of deputationes by Burnabe. 31. Edward Alleyn to Philip Hinslow. 32. Edward Alleyn to Philip Hinslow. 33. Jacob Meades lease.

Bounds.

1. A bound of Wistoes for Couenantes of 1200 li. 2. Pope to Hayes in 200 li. 3. Napton to Pope, a 100 markes. 4. Burnabie to Alleyn in 40 poundes. 5. Burnabie to Alleyn in a 100 poundes. 6. Burnabie to Alleyn in 200 poundes. 7. Burnabie to Alleyn in 300 poundes. 8. Hinslow to Alleyn in 500 poundes. 9. Hinslow to Alleyn in 500 poundes. 10. Jacob Meade in 300 poundes.'



PLAN OF THE HAL-TARXIEN TEMPLE

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921

VII.—*Third Report on the Hal-Tarxien Excavations, Malta.* *By Professor* T. Zammit, *C.M.G., M.D., Curator of the Valletta Museum.*

Read 24th June 1920.

The excavation of the Tarxien megalithic ruins, taken in hand in 1915 and continued during the summer months of subsequent years, was brought to an end in September of 1919. The ruins discovered in 1915 and 1916 were reported upon in *Archaeologia*.[1] Those reports give an account of the clearing of two megalithic sanctuaries extending in a south-west to north-east direction for about 150 ft. (45 m.) with an average width of 80 ft. (24 m.). The present façade and the outer court, which represent the front of the later of the two sanctuaries, extend to about 80 ft. (24 m.) in length with the main axis pointing SSW. to NNE. The second temple, which is the earlier, has an axis about 80 ft. (24 m.) in length, with a direction WSW. to ENE., making with the axis of the later building an angle of about 30 degrees.

The excavations made during 1918 brought to light a third sanctuary, at the north-east end of the northern building, but quite independent of it. This third building is made of roughly-hewn stone blocks and slabs, generally larger in size than those used in the other sanctuaries. It consists of two double symmetrical semi-elliptical apses, with a straight passage between them ending in a square space. The apses on the right side (east), about 7 ft. (2 m.) high, are but little damaged; those on the left, however, were reconstructed when the second building was raised. The first apse (cc) on the left, must have been pulled down and rebuilt in order to accommodate a flight of steps that led to the top of the wall (fig. 1); the second one (aa) was also reduced in size to allow of the building of the innermost apse (a) of the second temple.

The central passage ends in a square space with a wall in front formed by three large roughly-hewn slabs on end, at right angles with the walls at the sides. This is an exceptional arrangement, as rectangular spaces are rarely met with in the Maltese neolithic buildings. This rectangular room is limited on the right by two large upright blocks that rest on the bed-rock. The upright which formed the left wall of the room is wanting, but its place is clearly indicated by the raised rock-surface which marks the outline of its base.

[1] lxvii, 127; lxviii, 263.

The entrance of this early building is marked by a high sill (fig. 2), beyond which a flat slab is laid on the floor. Of the two pillars that flanked the entrance the left one is wanting, but its place is shown by the cleared area on the floor

Fig. 1. Western apse of north-east building in which was a flight of steps giving access to the second temple.

Fig. 2. Entrance to north-east building; high sill on right.

where it stood. To the right of the doorway is a recess made of large blocks, and, further on, a semicircular room (DD) measuring about 200 sq. ft. (18 sq. m.), of which the walls consist of seven large slabs on end, resting on the rock surface

carefully trimmed to receive them (fig. 3). The slabs, about 2 ft. (60 cm.) thick and 7 ft. (2 m.) high, are roughly squared, but trimmed at the sides so as to fit closely at their line of contact; their surface is not smooth but hammer-

Fig. 3. North-east building; view of main passage and west front of two apses.

Fig. 4. Opening connected with oracular room; slabs cut to receive roofing blocks.

dressed, showing deep conchoidal fractures. The ashlar masonry on top of them has disappeared, but one of the stones, 2 ft. 4 in. (75 cm.) high, was found and preserved *in situ*.

A huge monolith limits the north-eastern apse (BB), which is made of seven slabs on end. Though no masonry was found lying on the slabs, it is probable that the room was domed. One of the slabs in this room (the fourth from the left) is pierced by two holes, 4 in. (10 cm.) in diameter and a few inches apart, at a height of about 2 ft. (60 cm.) from the floor. The object of these holes is not evident.

Another important feature in this room is a small window-like opening (fig. 4) about a foot square, cut at the junction between the second and the third

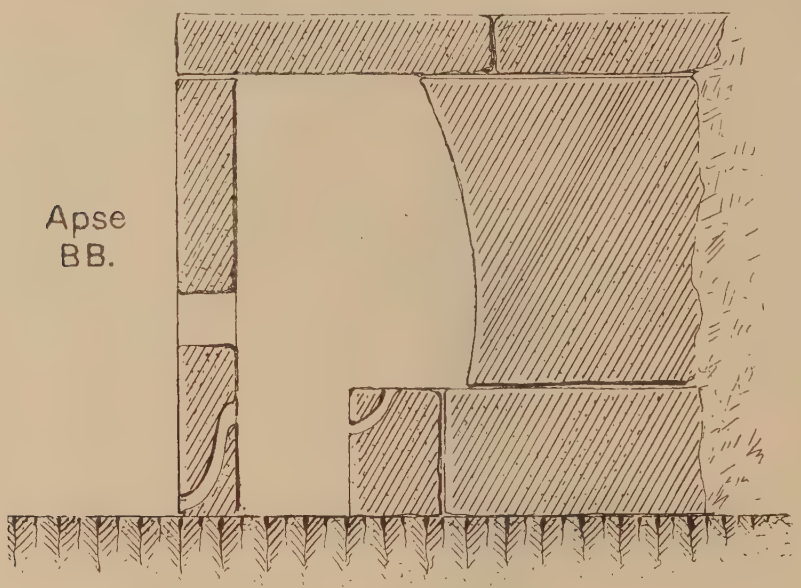


Fig. 5. Section through oracular room.

slab on the left, at a height of 2 ft. 5 in. (75 cm.) from the floor. Through this opening, which was originally neatly cut and rebated, a small quadrangular room is visible (GG), 6 ft. (1·82 m.) high, 14 ft. (4·27 m.) long, and 3 ft. (91 cm.) wide, which was roofed and formed an excellent recess for the installation of an oracle. The two slabs in which the window is cut are shorter by about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (45 cm.) than the other slabs of the apse, forming a gap, 12 ft. (3·60 m.) long, to receive the ends of the horizontal slabs which roofed over the space behind (fig. 5). One of the slabs in which the window is cut is pierced vertically by a hole which opens at the base, so that a small object, dropped in this hole, could find its way into the outer apse. In this manner a well-concealed communication existed between the oracular room and the sanctuary. The floor of this building is made of beaten limestone-dust (torba), but the main passage is paved with a large square flagstone.

In the uprights used in this third sanctuary a peculiarity is observed which is not often met with in our megalithic ruins. At the base of both slabs and pillars, a small cavity is cut in which, probably, a pole was inserted when the stone was to be raised or moved about (fig. 6). The larger stones of Hagiar Kim are also hollowed out at the base in the same manner. Some of these cavities at Tarxien are carefully filled up with stone plugs so as to render them invisible. These hollowed uprights may be taken as a sign of great antiquity, for the stones of later buildings are never so disfigured. It is probable that the early masons made use of a lever to place the larger stones in position, and that, in

Fig. 6. Blocks hollowed at base; plug for cavity to left.

later days, they discovered how to handle large blocks without using a lever, or at least without cutting them at the base for that purpose.

The front of this third temple is dilapidated, the building of a second temple having necessitated the removal of its boundary wall; but a more extensive destruction must have taken place at a later date, probably in the late Punic or Roman period, to judge from the remains of walls and of potsherds found in the vicinity.

In front of the building the ground was cleared down to the rock and levelled. A catchment basin for rain-water (s) was cut, and a trench about 11 ft. (3·3 m.) deep and 2 ft. (60 cm.) wide, covered by eighteen slabs, led the rain-water to a bell-shaped tank 15 ft. (4·5 m.) deep, to the south-east. In the rectangular space thus cleared (s) pillars were raised to support the slabs of a roof.

The southern side of this space is composed of a roughly-hewn stone 15 ft.

(4·5 m.) in length, which does not lie on the rock, but on earth and débris. Very probably this was a standing pillar which served the purpose of a landmark to the worshippers. Between this fallen pillar and the south-eastern front of the ruins large blocks lie on the ground, one of them measuring 15 ft. (4·5 m.) in length. It is probable that these blocks are the remains of the eastern boundary wall of the sanctuaries.

Seven feet (2 m.) of soil have covered these remains in the course of centuries. For about 2 ft. (60 cm.) from the ground, this soil is of a grey silty material, light, and homogeneous; above this is a layer of ordinary red soil mixed with stones and fragments of pottery. Another layer of more recent soil, about 2 ft. (60 cm.) thick, was laid down in later days. This gives an idea of how these ruins disappeared under the soil brought in by natural agencies and by the husbandman who turned the place into a field.

To the east of the space in front of the earliest building, the ground rises somewhat rapidly towards the fields on the hill-top. In the ground in front of the eastern building a barrel-shaped kiln was built later, in which, probably, charcoal was burnt. The walls are made of small stones and not of bricks, and there are signs of moderate firing. No lime was found at the bottom, but many lumps of charcoal with sherds of a late Roman type were discovered. Beyond the kiln, blocks of stone laid to buttress the walls of the sanctuary jut out all along the back of the apses. Although some blocks were removed from their original positions, and others were broken, it is easy to make out the outline of a series of small rooms to the east of the oracular chamber behind the apse (BB).

The reason for the complete destruction of these buildings is not difficult to understand. They were raised on the top of the hill, so that when their remains were covered by an arable field most of the stones were removed in order to clear the ground. The ruins further down the hill stood a better chance for they were gradually buried. Another reason for the fragmentary state in which the eastern ruins are found is that the stones employed in this building are of a comparatively small size and, consequently, more liable to be wrecked than the large blocks. One large slab (no. 1), 12 ft. (3·6 m.) long and 7 ft. (2 m.) wide, which stood on end to the south is now overthrown. The ruins of this place were cleared as far as possible, and when numerous trial trenches revealed nothing but stray stones and patches of torba floor, the excavation in the eastern and southern directions was stopped.

The general aspect of these ruins does not suggest great antiquity, for the stones are not imposing and the spaces enclosed are small when compared with those of the sanctuaries to the west. The potsherds, however, and the flint implements found in the débris are of a very early type. It is probable that

the buildings on this side were used as dwelling-places by the attendants of the temples, or for the accommodation of the worshippers.

The first portion of the eastern ruins has the appearance of a rectangular

Fig. 7. Rectangular court in eastern ruins; entrance to oracular room on left; large stone slab with conical holes in foreground.

Fig. 8. View of oracular room GG behind slabs of apse BB. Note window-like opening between the slabs.

court (ss) 28 ft. (8·52 m.) long and 24 ft. (7·28 m.) wide (fig. 7). To the south, the entrance to this court has a pillar on each side. To the left, a straight wall made of thick slabs has a rectangular doorway, cut like a frame in a slab, which opens

on the set of small rooms (EE) and (FF) leading to the oracular chamber (GG) (fig. 8). In front (to the north) the space is limited by a low wall which encloses a round room (HH) at the back. To the right (east) a straight wall, 3 ft. (91 cm.) thick and about 2 ft. (60 cm.) high, is made of squared blocks of stone. A torba floor is laid along the whole of this eastern wall, and ends to the south in a carefully constructed recess (KK), paved in front, flanked by a pillar on each side, and backed by a smoothed slab. In front, this passage of torba flooring has a jagged edge, and appears to have been worn down for a few inches. The rest of the court is also covered with torba floor at a slightly lower level (fig. 9). To the left of the

Fig. 9. Rectangular space in eastern ruins, with wall to the right.

doorway an eroded circular patch, 4 ft. (1·2 m.) in diameter, was caused by the long action of fire.

Leaving this court, and turning to the left, we find a slab (1) 15 ft. (4·5 m.) long, which, at one time, stood on end and formed part of the outer wall of these ruins. Two deep conical holes were cut on the surface of this stone. Between the slab and the recess (KK) at the end of the rectangular court, a number of blocks of stone mark the boundary of a set of small rooms (2–2). In this space, as well as under the slab (1), sherds of the best neolithic type were met with.

Further on, to the east, a step (3) leads up to a passage (LL) 3 ft. 6 in. (1 m.) wide. For the first 9 ft. this passage is paved and bordered by slabs on end. On the right side only one of the slabs remains *in situ*. A deep round hole is dug at the end of this paved passage which, to the left, widens into another passage leading to the entrance of a small room (MM) with curved walls made

of slabs on end. The passage is paved for a length of 5 ft. (1·5 m.) and then laid with torba for about 7 ft. (2 m.). To the left there is an entrance to a second semicircular room (NN). To the north of the passage a long slab serves the purpose of a doorsill at the entrance of a circular room (OO), the walls of which are made of slabs on end, and the floor is of beaten earth (fig. 10).

Very probably two more rooms, corresponding to those to the west, existed to the east of the long passage, but not a trace of them has been found. At this point the surface of the ground was cleared down to the rock, and an irregular pit 20 ft. (6 m.) long, 10 ft. (3 m.) wide, and about 6 ft. (1·8 m.) deep was found

Fig. 10. Circular room OO at end of passage LL.

(fig. 11). Beside the original entrance this pit has (4) two other openings which must have been formed when the roof of the pit gave way. This pit was a small quarry in a very soft rock which, on scraping, yielded a white, friable, clayey limestone used for making the torba floors of the rooms and passages. Mixed with stone chippings and well beaten, this clayey material makes an even floor, which can be smoothed to any degree, and which, in time, hardens almost to the consistency of stone.

To the south of this pit the surface is not encumbered with stones, but the soil is grey owing to its free admixture with ashes. A well-squared block (5), close to a horizontal slab, suggests a table on which carcases of sacrificial animals may have been handled. Two large stone grinders were found in the immediate vicinity, and fragments of animal bones, many of them charred, were also found in abundance near these stones, together with sherds of rough pottery

clearly of a neolithic type. This side of the building was probably used for the handling of food-stuffs.

In the northern part of this eastern portion the remains of a series of rooms

Fig. 11. Rooms beyond eastern wall; pit on left.

Fig. 12. Northern end of eastern ruins, showing torba floors and pit on right.

were found, of which only the foundations are now recognizable (fig. 12). All these rooms are circular, have torba floors, and are, apparently, independent of each other. Groups of stone blocks met with at several points of the field, often in the

vicinity of patches of torba floor, suggest remains of other rooms and passages now completely destroyed.

It is difficult to describe the grouping of the rooms to the north-east of the field. Behind the walls of the apse (BB) there are the rooms connected with the oracular chamber (GG). To the east of these spaces two rows (6) of blocks formed the foundation of a wall 10 ft. (3 m.) thick, which originally enclosed the main building. This wall has not been followed throughout its length, but a trial shaft sunk in the field to the north of the building showed that two stone blocks, each at least 5 ft. (1·5 m.) in length, 3 ft. 4 in. (1 m.) in width, and 2 ft. (60 cm.) in thickness, adjoin the blocks laid behind the temple in a north by west direction.

The first room (HH) to the east of the oracular chamber is elliptical in shape. Of its wall a low course of stone remains, but this does not give any idea of its original appearance. There is no proper entrance to the room (HH), but a sort of threshold (7) can be traced to the south, which now forms part of the wall of the quadrangular space (SS). The next room (PP), similar to the one just described, has its boundary wall made of roughly-shaped stones of various sizes. Patches of torba floor lie to the east of this room. Farther on, a third room (QQ) must have existed, as shown by groups of boulders forming a semicircle around a torba floor. Both in front and on the sides of this room, stones of various sizes, grouped together, suggest a building of which not even the outlines can now be made out. Patches of torba floor are also met with which give no clue to the kind of space they covered. Trenches cut in all possible directions to explore the field gave a negative result, nothing but stray blocks being met with. The excavation of this site was consequently stopped, and a rubble wall was built to keep the soil of the field off the cleared ground.

When the work in the eastern field was stopped, our attention was turned to the space in front of the main buildings to the south, which was encumbered by blocks of stone and soil. To the south-west, a roadway crossed the ruins at a height of about 7 ft. When a portion of this was removed, the extreme end of the forecourt and the original boundary wall that enclosed the sanctuaries to the west came into view. The front of the building is distinctly concave and forms an arc of a circle 63 ft. (19 m.) in radius. Between the extreme eastern point (8), and the opposite end (9), the distance is about 100 ft. (30 m.). The main entrance is in the middle of this arc (fig. 13). The threshold is a large semicircular slab, in front of which is fixed a slab having a pair of large deep conical holes, which meet at their apex. These double V-shaped holes are a characteristic feature of Maltese neolithic sanctuaries, and appear constantly at the entrance of all important rooms. Similar holes are often drilled into pillars and slabs. They may have served the purpose of rope holes to tether an

animal, or to fix a door or a curtain, but as in many cases no useful purpose can be ascribed to such holes, it is probable that they have an allegorical significance.

To the right of the main entrance two large well-squared blocks of stone

Fig. 13. Main façade looking south. Note threshold and entrance in middle of forecourt.

(10) were found occupying 20 ft. (6 m.) of the front line; of a third block, farther to the south-west, only a stump remains. These blocks served as footings to large slabs on end that once formed the outer wall. On close observation it can be seen that these wall slabs overlapped for about 2 ft. (60 cm.) the edge of the footings which, for that width, were left rough, whilst the rest of the surface was rubbed smooth.

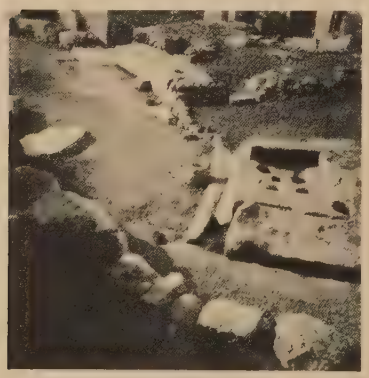


Fig. 14. Façade with rectangular block and barrel-shaped trough in front.

At the south-eastern end of the footings a very remarkable structure marks the end of the front line (8). This is a rectangular block of stone with a flat border about 1 ft. (30 cm.) high (fig. 14). Five conical holes, dug in the surface, are arranged almost as a quincunx, and another similar hole is cut in the right-hand corner of the surrounding ledge. The block has a step in front, and was originally surrounded on the three other sides by upright slabs which are now broken to the level of the block. Standing in front of this block is a barrel-shaped stone, hollowed out from both ends.

It is not easy to understand the use of this curiously worked block. The conical holes might suggest mortars in which grain, such as wheat or millet, could be pounded or rubbed with a long pestle. Some of the holes, in fact, are worn on one side by friction. It is also possible that the holes were used in connexion with some sort of artificial divination by means of stone balls. This is suggested by a great number of such balls, varying in diameter from one to four inches, found in the vicinity of this quaintly wrought stone.

It is highly interesting to note that at the western end of the forecourt, to the left of the main entrance, was another block of stone which, like the one on the eastern end, is approached by a step, and was flanked by walls. Unfortunately, of this block only a fragment remains, but there is enough to show that it was also provided with conical holes similar to those found on the other side of the forecourt close to this stone. Under the missing portion of it a number of stone balls, varying in diameter from 12 in. (30 cm.) to 6 in. (15 cm.), were carefully laid.

Spherical stones of various sizes are constantly found in our megalithic ruins, and have always been considered as rollers on which blocks of stones were moved. The diameter of the stones goes up to 2 ft. (60 cm.) or more in the specimens at Hagiar Kim, Hal Saflieni and Tarxien. Now we find that these round stones were sometimes arranged, according to their size, to form a substructure under large blocks laid horizontally. Most of the stones that may have served the purpose of rollers were probably buried under the blocks they carried and thus got rid of. If the balls had some religious meaning they sanctified and at the same time levelled the structure under which they were laid. Beside the large balls, numerous small ones are often met with in our megalithic ruins.

In a line with this western block, the remains of two footing stones were found and, further on, other remains that showed a continuous line of blocks between the entrance and the west end of the front line. The façade was, therefore, made of two symmetrical halves with the main entrance in the middle. The forecourt in front of the entrance is well laid with beaten earth forming a hard, smooth surface. Many blocks of stone encumbered the forecourt, some of which must have been thrown over from the old building, while others were *in situ* and formed part of minor structures.

To the south-east there is a fine slab which appears to have been laid at the entrance of a circular room of which some of the wall-blocks are still standing. Further to the west, two large blocks lie *in situ*, but as they are not connected with other stones their importance cannot be estimated. A large stone, from which a portion was detached, encumbers the western end of the forecourt. At the back of this block, later occupants of the ruins dug out a bell-

shaped water tank 12 ft. (3·6 m.) deep, which was carefully plastered and made watertight. This tank was found full of stones and red earth, mixed with animals' bones, and of potsherds of late Punic or Roman type. No neolithic or Bronze Age material was found in this tank.

To the extreme west of the field, which was acquired in order to complete the excavation, no important material was met with. Stray blocks are abundant, but they seem to be the result of the pulling down of the huge boundary wall. One of these blocks is oval, with a circular depression, on the margin of which is a round cup-like hole 25 cm. in diameter.

Western boundary wall. Behind the western end of the front line, the removal of a mound of stones in the western field brought to light the base course of the boundary wall that embraced the apses (V and F) and extended towards the north. Only the two base courses of this cyclopean wall were left standing, the other courses were ruthlessly broken and thrown over, probably to utilize the good building-stone of which they were made. Many of the stones strewn over the western field are the fragments of the fine hammer-dressed ashlars that walled in the triple sanctuary. The wall, heading north, is lost under 6 ft. (1·8 m.) of soil, which was not cleared.

Objects under stones. The accidental shifting of a stone brought to light animal bones, neolithic sherds, and flat pebbles of hard stone which appeared to have been laid purposely under the stone. This suggested the examination of all the blocks that could be safely moved. As a result of this investigation it was found that bones of young animals (sheep mostly), fragments of pots, flint flakes or implements, and sea-shore pebbles were ritual objects placed under important stone-blocks, or slabs, before these were laid in position.

In a few cases more important objects were placed.

The space under the altar stone in front of the niche (Q), in the court (T), is reached through the main opening in front and also through a gutter in the pavement that goes under the altar. Red soil had found its way through these openings and filled up the space under the niche. When this soil was carefully removed the following objects were found embedded in it: one cowrie shell; one limpet shell; eight flint flakes; one stone figurine representing a crouching dog (fig. 15); and the incisor tooth of a young person, with two parallel grooves filed at the root. Under the block, to the right of this niche, three flint flakes; a few animal bones; two bone borers; two smooth flat pebbles; and some black sherds were found.

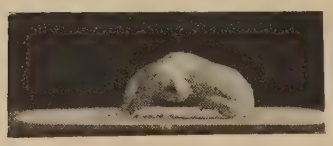


Fig. 15. Stone statuette of crouching dog ($\frac{1}{2}$).

In an irregular cavity under the stone altar to the left of the entrance at T, symmetrical with the niche (Q), the following objects were found in the red soil:

a number of black smooth neolithic sherds; three shoulder-blades of kids; one bone borer; two flakes of obsidian, one of them 6 cm. long; one red clay pyramidal spindle-whorl; and one smooth globular stone used as a hammer.

From under the first block to the left, beyond the entrance of room V, we obtained animal bones, potsherds, a fine dark heavy whetstone, and one cowrie shell. At the corner of the next block a fine flint knife, 95 mm. long and 20 mm. wide, was found. Under another block in the same room were animal bones; potsherds; two flint flakes; and a fine dark stone axe, 70 mm. long, with convex surfaces and a sharp edge, jagged through usage (pl. XIV, fig. 1).

The blocks of stone separating the two spaces (R and T) were all carefully moved and replaced *in situ*.

To the right of the block on which the stone statue stands, a small cavity exists, carefully plugged with a stone. From the red soil that filled the cavity a few black highly-burnished potsherds were obtained. Another cavity to the left of the statue is covered by a conical stone which is *in situ*. The soil from this cavity yielded: six flint flakes, of which one is 56 mm. long and another 8 cm. long (pl. XIV, fig 2); a portion of an ox rib with smoothed edges; a hard stone disc; black sherds; sheep leg bones, partly carbonized; one small bone borer; a sea-shell (*trochus*); and a portion of a hard stone ring, 9 cm. in diameter and 13 mm. thick.

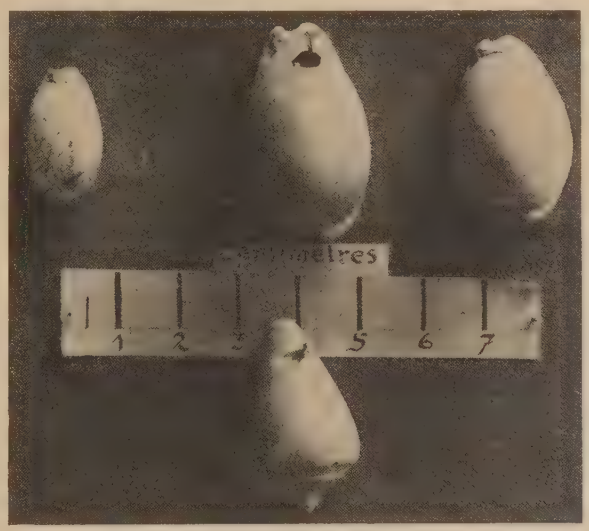


Fig. 16. Cowrie shells and *conus* with filed slit.

Under a broken slab behind the statue were: numerous fine neolithic sherds; bones of young sheep; two triangular hard stones used as rubbers or cutters; a few round pebbles; one small disc cut out of a clay potsherd; a fine slightly-curved flint knife, about 13 cm. long; a flat flint flake, 22 cm. long and 18 cm. broad; a leaf-shaped flint stone, 20 cm. long; a flint implement, broken at the tip; two flakes of obsidian of which one was 10 cm. long, triangular in shape; a bone spatula, 22 cm. long made from an ox rib, and a smaller one; and a lump of calcite.

The next block behind the statue yielded: one shallow stone cup, one triangular hard stone rubber with a hole for the insertion of the fingers, one hard stone mallet, one large chert tool, a few chert flakes, and a sea-shell (*conus*) with a slit filed close to the apex, to allow of its being threaded (fig. 16).

In the oracular room and in the spaces adjoining it, a number of neolithic objects were obtained from among the débris of the stone walls. Neolithic potsherds were very abundant, some of the sherds being of an exceptionally fine quality. Flint flakes, flint knives, clay statuettes, polished stone pendants (fig. 17), bone implements, stone hammers, hard stone rings, and hard stone and lava grinders were met with. Two large almond-shaped grinders were found in the farthest end of the eastern field.

Two oval sling-stones of globigerina limestone are worth special notice.

Fig. 17. Polished stone pendants found in oracular room.

Oval and biconical sling-stones are met with in all our megalithic ruins; at the Hal Saflieni Hypogeum they were found in abundance. As a rule they are all worked and finished, but they rarely show traces of decoration. One of the two sling-stones found lately at Tarxien tapers at both ends and is 85 mm. long, and 30 mm. in diameter. Three small holes are drilled in a line in a horizontal direction. The other stone has two small knobs in relief at its upper third. A fine axe-shaped pendant, found at floor-level, is greenish in colour, of a mottled appearance, with shiny micaceous specks in its structure (fig. 18).

Bone objects (fig. 19). Besides the bone spatulae and the bone objects mentioned before, two fine curved bone needles, with well-formed head and eye, were met with, and a fragment of an ivory object, 55 mm. long, with five round bosses cut in relief.

Fig. 18. Stone objects mainly from eastern ruins.

Fig. 19. Bone objects ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Figures of stone and earthenware. The following figures were obtained during the last two years of the excavation:

1. *Animal figures.*—A small stone figure of a dog was found under the altar

of the niche (Q) (fig 15). It measures 37 mm. in length. The animal, clumsily modelled, is in a crouching position; the artist meant to show a very lean animal, for the vertebral column is unduly prominent.

2. A small ivory pendant in the shape of a sitting bird was found in the western field. It has a round base, 11 mm. in diameter and 7 mm. high, in which two converging holes for a thread are drilled. The head and the back show traces of a red stain.

3. *Human figures.*—A right leg and foot, 5 cm. in length, of a terra-cotta human figurine, probably of a fat type. It is of a reddish colour and well polished.

4. A human face (fig. 20 C), 34 mm. high, carved in low relief on one of the sides of a rectangular piece of limestone, rounded at the top and broken at the base. The forehead and nose stand out clearly, the eyes are but two small holes, the mouth is shown by a line, and the chin is very faintly marked. This figure was found in 1917 in a neolithic deposit.

A. B. C.

Fig. 20. Limestone and clay heads ($\frac{1}{2}$).

5. The head of a limestone statuette (fig. 20 A), broken at the neck, 45 mm. high and 40 mm. thick. The face is broad and flat, with a rounded chin, straight nose, linear eyes, with eyelids shown in relief; the mouth is clearly cut, with thick lips. There is a marked degree of prognathism, the forehead is low, and the neck abnormally thick. The hair is thick and arranged in folds which end at the back in a long braid reaching to the base of the neck.

6. A small clay headless figurine, 30 mm. high, in a sitting posture, with thighs drawn up against the chest; the left leg crosses the right one, and the right arm, of which the hand is wanting, reaches to the right knee. The left arm is missing. Two pendulous breasts touch the thighs, the back is flat, and the waist slender. This figurine is modelled with a freedom which is in marked contrast with the usual Buddha-like figures of the Maltese monuments.

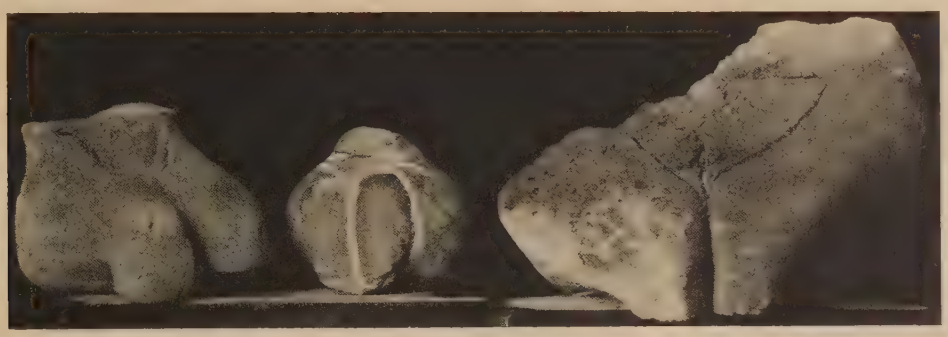
7. Fragment of a clay female figure of which the legs and the bust are missing (fig. 21 C). The back is flat, broad, and slightly bent forward; the thighs are firmly closed together and their under part is deeply concave. The sexual triangle is shown by a deep incision. The fragment is 10 cm. across and 65 mm. high, the length of the thighs being 80 mm. It is of a red colour due to a fine slip laid on a coarse material.

8. Fragments of the lower part of a limestone statuette, broken at the waist,

the hips being covered with a plaited kilt. The fragment is 18 cm. high, and 15 cm. across the hips.

9. Fragment of a baked clay figurine in a sitting posture, 55 mm. broad and 42 mm. high, of which the upper part of the bust and the legs are wanting (fig. 21 A). What remains of the figure is well modelled and shows no abnormal obesity. The back is straight and the sexual triangle is shown by a deep incision. The baking is poor and the surface shows red patches at the points which were exposed to a greater heat.

10. Head of a baked clay statuette (fig. 20 B), 70 mm. high, with a circular base 50 mm. in diameter at the level where the neck should join the shoulders. It is well modelled, with a clear-cut nose, prominent jaws, thick lips, small ears,



A. B. C.

Fig. 21. Fragments of clay figurines ($\frac{1}{2}$).

and eyes outlined in relief. It has a short curly wig, the curls being shown by deep notches. Its light fawn colour is due to a fine slip laid on coarse material. The back of the head, the right cheek, and the tip of the nose are damaged.

Carved stones. A quaintly-sculptured stone, in a battered condition, was found among the débris. It consists of ordinary building limestone (globigerina) and measures about 18 cm. in height, 24 cm. in width, and about 29 cm. in thickness. It seems to represent the lower part of a sitting figure, the upper portion of which must have been formed of a separate stone fixed upon it, for on its upper surface there is a mortise to receive the tenon that kept the upper portion in place (pl. XV).

What remains represents part of a figure, from the waist downwards covered with a plaited skirt which reaches below the knee. A pair of fleshy, pear-shaped legs hang below the skirt (pl. XV, fig. 4). The feet are missing. The figure sits on a panelled rectangular bench which is distinctly shown below the skirt. The sides of the stone are decorated with human figures in low relief. The right side has two standing figures, of the usual Maltese neolithic corpulent type,

separated from each other by a narrow pillar (pl. XV, fig. 3). The figures resemble the statuettes found at Tarxien, Hal Saflieni, and Hagiar Kim. Both are naked to the waist, but draped to the knee, below which pear-shaped legs protrude. The right forearm is bent on the chest and the left arm hangs straight along the body. The head, in both figures, is badly defined, the stone being damaged at this level.

A pair of similar figures is carved on the left side of the block (pl. XV, fig. 1). It is not clear whether the figures are draped, but they show abnormally fat hips and thighs. The arms are arranged as in the first pair, and a narrow pillar stands between the figures.

Below these figures the surface of the stone is sunk to a depth of about 2 cm., and in this space a group of figures is carved in relief. This group consists of a central sitting figure with the left arm bent and the elbow resting on the knee. To the left, a human head is outlined, but the rest of the body is indistinct. To the right, another sitting figure, with round face, has the left arm bent with the forearm resting on the lap; the right arm is bent upwards and the hand is raised to the level of the head. On the opposite side of these figures the under surface of the stone is decorated with a reed ornament in relief, like the milling of a coin. The block is damaged by rough handling, and is in places covered with a stalactitic slime, which cannot be removed, and which renders the outline of the figures uncertain at many points.

Pottery. The potsherds collected during the last period of the excavations are of a strictly indigenous type, and differ but little from those found in enormous quantities in earlier days. Until a thorough study is made of the sherds, not much can be said of the shapes and sizes of the original vases, but about the decoration a few remarks may be made.

The pottery was of the best quality, made by hand out of excellent material, well smoothed for the most part, and often highly burnished and decorated. It was likewise always carefully fired. The sherds of which illustrations accompany this report are worthy of special notice.

1. *Line-decoration.* A common form of ornament consists of lines incised on the vessel before being fired. The lines, straight or curved, are more or less deeply engraved. Good examples of this simple decoration are shown in pl. XVI, fig. 1 A, C, and F, pl. XVI, fig. 2 A, D, and C. In pl. XVI, fig. 1 A, fine lines are scratched to fill up the space between deeply incised lines. In pl. XVI, fig. 1 F, the lines are drawn with remarkable skill at different angles, thus forming a pattern having a most pleasing effect. The sherds in pl. XVI, fig. 2 A, and pl. XVII, fig. 1 C, are less delicately treated, but worked nevertheless by an expert hand.

The fragment shown in pl. XVI, fig. 1 C, is, probably, the most remarkable in the collection. It is of a light red colour and highly polished. The lines are deep and filled with a white paste. It seems that an attempt was made to represent a fortified wall. The horizontal lines appear to represent a wall of stones, of which the bond is clearly visible, and the perpendicular lines depict battlements surmounted by merlons and crenelles or their early representatives. A larger fragment of this precious vase would have been of inestimable archaeological value.

Pl. XVI, fig. 1 D, shows a delicate design in thin wavy lines arranged in a fish-scale pattern. Pl. XVI, fig. 2 C, has branched spirals with long oval leaflets attached, standing out clearly on a finely pitted background. The design, filled with a white paste, comes out even on a highly burnished black ground. This filled pitting is very effective, as can be seen in pl. XVI, fig. 2 F and G. Pl. XVI, fig. 1 B and E, show delicately drawn palmettes, a pattern very rarely met with in other neolithic stations in Malta.

2. *Pitted ware.* Pl. XVII, figs. 1 F, 2 B and C, show good specimens of deeply pitted ware. The tiny indentations are triangular or lenticular, but by a special technique in their cutting the effect is varied to a great extent. When, for instance, the tool, whilst deep in the soft clay, is pressed on one side, a tiny ridge is raised on that side above the surface, making the dint appear deeper owing to the dark shadow of the prominence of the edge. In pl. XVII, fig. 2 F, parallel notches, regularly laid, give an appearance of open work, very effective when, as in this case, the notches cut in a black shiny surface are filled with a dull white paste.

3. *Studded ware.* The studded ware was, unquestionably, brought to the highest pitch of perfection in the Maltese Islands. In no other country has such delicately decorated ware ever been met with. Pl. XVII, figs. 1 A and E, and 2 A, E, and G, show lovely specimens of this peculiar ware. When of small size, the discs and the lenticular knobs are simply stuck on the shiny surface of the vase before it is fired, but when the knobs are large they are pressed into a small cavity cut for them in the soft wall of the vase. Very often the raised knobs are evenly distributed on the surface of the pot, but sometimes they are cleverly arranged so as to form a spiral pattern (pl. XVII, fig. 1 E). The fragment of a deep dish, shown in pl. XVII, fig. 2 E, has a delicate brim, a burnished surface inside and outside, and two V holes with highly finished rims. The whole arrangement is well balanced, and the effect is most artistic.

4. *Raised patterns.* Pl. XVII, fig. 2 H, is a good specimen of pottery decorated with moulded bands attached to the surface, on which a raised scallop-shell was

cleverly worked when the clay was still soft. This freehand work is sometimes very effective, especially when the clay is of the best quality. Pl. XVII, fig. 1 B, shows a successful attempt at a more complex decoration, consisting of a pair of ox horns *appliqué* on the surface of the vase. Between the horns a bird is worked in relief, with its feathers cleverly brought out by notches cut in the soft paste. Pl. XVII, fig. 1 D, is another specimen of decoration which establishes the pre-eminence of the Maltese potter of the Stone Age. The sherd is of a fawn colour, made of fine material, and well polished. Parallel bands of a darker colour run on the surface, outlined by deep lines filled with a white paste. These darker bands are made of a different clay inlaid in shallow grooves cut when the surface was soft. This is so cleverly worked in, that when the pot was fired the coloured band appeared as if painted.

Fig. 1. Flint knives found under stone blocks ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Fig. 2. Flint, chert and obsidian implements ($\frac{1}{2}$)

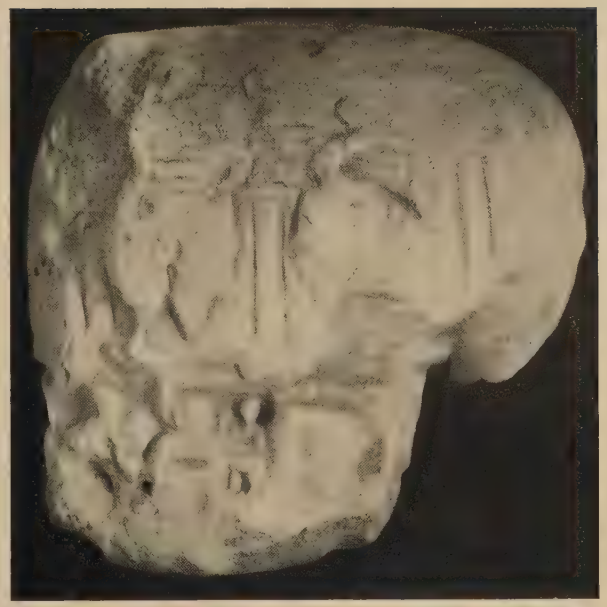


Fig. 1. Side view

Fig. 2. Back view showing panelled bench

Fig. 3. Side view

Fig. 4. Front view

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED STONE FIGURE

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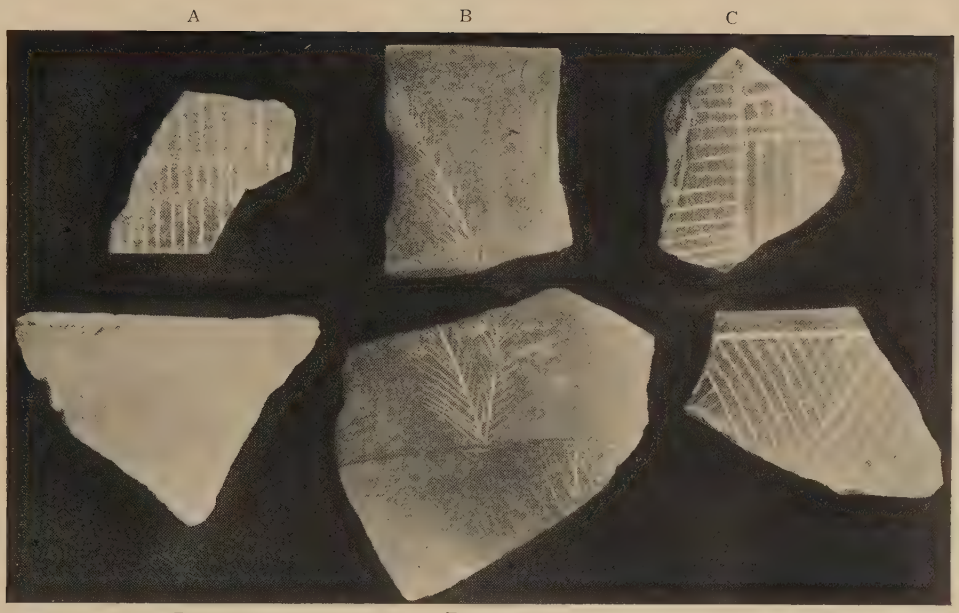

Fig. 1

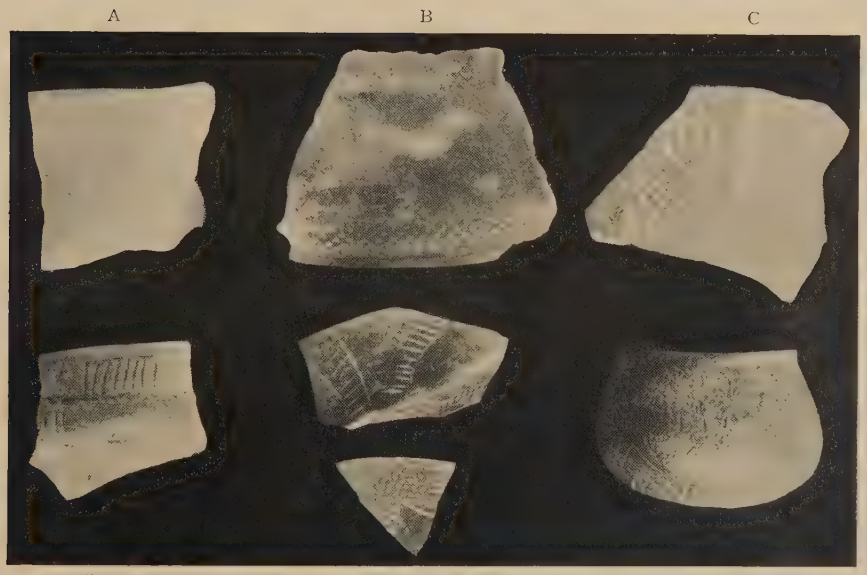

Fig. 2

POTSHERDS FROM HAL-TARXIEN ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

POTSHERDS FROM HAL-TARXIEN (½)

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VIII.—*The Dolmens and Megalithic Tombs of Spain and Portugal.*

By E. Thurlow Leeds, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 10th April 1919.

The work done by archaeologists in Spain, particularly within the last decade, in recording and exploring megalithic graves in that country has begun a new era in the study of the megalithic problem in Western Europe, since it is now at last possible to collate this new material with the evidence accumulated over a longer period in Portugal and thus to rewrite in a measure the history of the megalithic period in the peninsula.[1] It is self-evident that in any investigation of the megaliths of Europe those of the peninsula must take an important place. For, if the theory of a diffusion of the megalithic idea from oriental sources is to hold good, those of the peninsula constitute, as it were, the half-way house, where the stream begins to bend round from the North African series on its northerly course towards its limit in Scandinavia. The present paper is an attempt to present certain points which seem to emerge from the evidence at present available, and for that purpose it is proposed to treat first of the forms, secondly of their distribution, and thirdly of the grave-finds, followed by some conclusions and suggestions.

I. Form. Without postulating at this stage anything about the age of the various types it is natural to begin with the simplest, the dolmen, a structure composed of three, four, or more uprights supporting a single cover-stone.

1. *Dolmens.* This class divides itself into two types, (*a*) rectangular, and (*b*) polygonal.

(*a*) *Rectangular.* The simplest representatives of this type are constructed of four stones, namely three uprights and a cover-stone. A characteristic example is the dolmen de la Viña Munera, Capmany, in the province of Gerona. The two side-walls are formed of single slabs, 2·70 m. and 2·50 m. long and 0·90 m. and 0·95 m. high. One end is closed by a third slab, 1·60 m. long and 1 m. high. The cover-stone measures 2·10 m. by 1·60 m.[2] Numerous other examples of these

[1] A useful literature of the megaliths of Spain and Portugal has been published by Professor Bosch Gimpera in his appendix to A. Schulten's *Hispania* (Spanish edition), entitled *La Arqueologia Prerromana Hispánica.*

[2] **1**, 53, fig. 17. Numbers in heavy type refer to the bibliography at the end of this paper.

three-walled monuments are known, some slightly smaller, but on the whole remarkably similar in point of size (fig. 1). In some, however, the cover-stone is considerably larger, e.g. the dolmens of Zubeinta and Amor-lecu in Navarra, the cover-stones of which measure 4·15 m. and 4·50 m. in length respectively.[1] Possibly the stone forming the fourth side has been removed, but the three-sided type is sufficiently common to justify the assumption that one end was not intended to be closed. Four-sided dolmens are, however, well attested with dimensions similar to those of the three-sided class.

Around many of these monuments traces of tumuli of earth and stones still remain, and some are known to have been entirely covered, e.g. the dolmen of

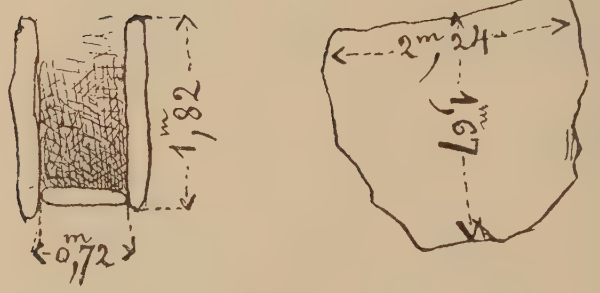

Fig. 1. Dolmen de Otso-Pasage, Navarra (after Iturralde y Suit).

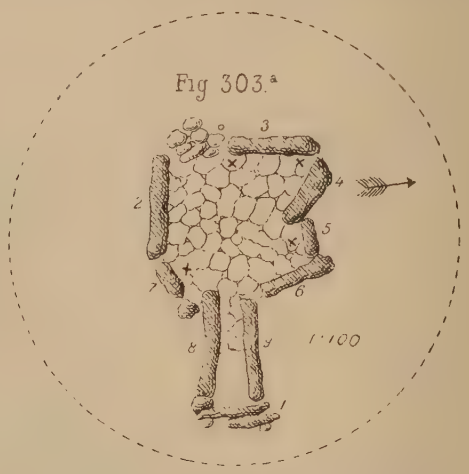

Fig. 2. Megalitho da Cabecinha, near Cabo Mondego, Portugal (after Santos Rocha).

Ziñeko-gurutze, Aralar,[2] the Arca de Padorno, and the Arca de Sina in Galicia.[3]

(*b*) *Polygonal.* Monuments of this form are found in the *mamôas* or *mamunhas*, i.e. tumuli enclosing and sometimes concealing the grave structure, in northern Portugal. An example from Chã das Arcas in the province of Tras-os-Montes[4] has been repeatedly cited,[5] and something similar seems to have been found in the Valle de Cuartango in Navarra.[6]

2. *Passage-dolmens.* Examples of the rectangular dolmen with two uprights and extra cover-stone added to form a portal are to be seen in the dolmen de Cabana Arqueta and the dolmen de la Font del Roure, Espolla, province of Gerona. The first is regarded as of polygonal form by Bosch

[1] **2**, 16 and 17, figs. 4 and 5. [2] **3**, 36, pl. ii 2.

[3] **4**, 55, pl. v. Amil y Castro says (*ibid.* 226) that while in Galicia visible dolmens free from all covering of earth and stones are scarce, those enclosed in tumuli are abundant.

[4] *Portugalia*, i, 696. [5] **5**, fig. 8. [6] **6**, 21.

Gimpera, but in reality it would seem rather to be merely a chance modification of the rectangular type.[1] For true polygonal dolmens with an added portal one has to go to such an example as a dolmen in the Concelho de Villa Pouco de Aguiar, Tras os Montes, formed of six uprights with a portal of two stones.[2] This monument, like others from Chã das Arcas, seems to fall within the category of *mamôas*, but a true dolmen of this type is to be seen in the dolmen da Cabecinha on the serras above Cabo Mondego (fig. 2), the portal stones of which measured about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. in length.[3]

If the polygonal dolmen in its simpler forms is somewhat rare, the passage-dolmen with polygonal chamber and long corridor is more than common. The dolmen de el Romo, near Castillo de los Arcos in the province of Badajoz, has a corridor $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. long[4]; that of the often cited dolmen at Cunha Baixa, Mangualde,

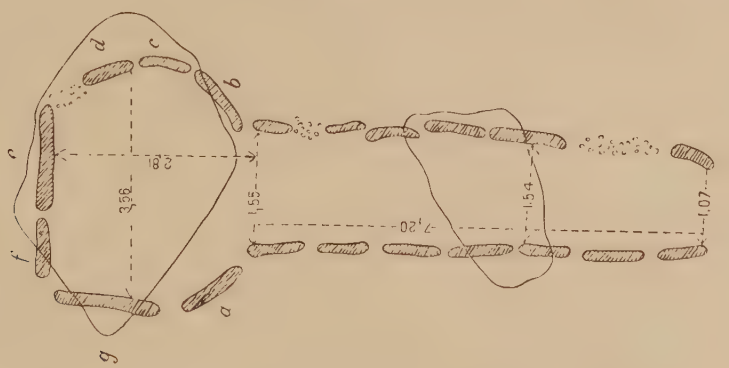

Fig. 3. Dolmen of Cunha Baixa (after *O Archeologo Português*).

in the province of Beira Alta, measures 7 m. (fig. 3), while that of the dolmen del Prado Lácara, Millaron, south-west of Mérida, is no less than 15 m. in length.[5] The famous dolmens of Monte Abrahão and Estria near Bellas are reckoned to have had corridors 8 m. and 10 m. long respectively.[6]

The larger proportion of these polygonal dolmens have their chambers built of uprights forming a rude polygon, often with fairly wide interstices between the slabs. In some each upright slightly overlaps that immediately adjoining it. A particularly good illustration of this method of construction is furnished by dolmens at Chã das Arcas. In one instance the practice is continued down one side of the gallery.[7] In other monuments there are evidences of greater care in the construction. This is particularly true of a group of polygonal passage-dolmens in Spanish Estremadura in the vicinity of Mérida. In nearly all of them the stones forming the uprights of the chamber have been carefully

[1] **7**, 102. [2] *O Archeologo Português* (cited hereafter as *O. A. P.*), ii, 81.
[3] **8**, 197, pl. xxi, fig. 303. [4] **9**, 15, fig. 5. [5] *Id.* 10, fig. 3.
[6] **10**, 11 and 62. [7] *Portugalia*, i, 696, figs. 3 and 7.

set together so as to leave no gaps between them, while in many of them the care thus exercised has resulted in the chamber taking an almost circular form. Thus in the dolmen de la Cueva del Monge or Casa de la Moneda, on the borders of the province of Caceres, the chamber, 2·80 m. in diameter, was originally constructed of some ten uprights, four of which are now missing. These slabs have been so arranged as to form almost an exact circle.[1] In a lesser degree this also applies to the chamber of the dolmen del Prado Lácara, which further presents a remarkable feature in that the uprights appear to have been hollowed out on their inner face, with the result that the inside of the chamber, which is 5 m. in diameter at its base, presents a conical appearance. It may not be out of place to recall here Borrow's account of the well-known dolmen of Arraiolos, west of Évora, Portugal. Calling it a druidical altar he says, 'It was circular, and consisted of stones immensely large and heavy at the bottom, which towards the top became thinner and thinner, having been fashioned out by the hand of art to something of the shape of scallop shells. These were surmounted by a very large flat stone, which slanted down towards the south, where was a door. Three or four individuals might have taken shelter within the interior, . . .'[2]

Megalithic tombs. It is possible that the term adopted to describe the class of monuments now to be considered, one indeed which comprises the most remarkable of all the megalithic structures in the peninsula, will hardly bear the interpretation which has been put upon it. The term, however, has been selected for want of a better, because it seems to describe most aptly the particular feature which distinguishes the monuments of this class from those already described. Whereas the dolmens and passage-dolmens are constructed above ground, although the floor of the chamber may actually lie a little below the surface, and the tumulus surrounding them, if such exists, has been artificially heaped up round them, the megalithic tombs were, in the majority of cases at least, constructed underground and were entirely concealed, in the same manner as the structures inside the long barrows of England or such monuments as Gavr Inis and New Grange. The builders usually seem to have chosen the slope of a natural hill or mound in which they excavated a cutting of the necessary size. Within this cutting the monument was erected and subsequently covered over, in some cases at least probably leaving the entrance of the tomb open for subsequent access. Many of them present the additional peculiarity of a descending entrance either in the form of steps or of a sloping ramp. By this means quite a gentle slope was ample to enable the builders to carry their task of concealment to a successful conclusion. In some instances it appears that a tumulus was artificially made to carry out the same purpose, and it is at

[1] **9**, 7, fig. 2.

[2] *The Bible in Spain*, chap. vii.

times difficult to decide whether a particular monument should be more rightly assigned to the present class or to that of the passage-dolmens already described. In such cases the decision must rest upon certain features in their construction which these monuments possess in common with others about which there can be no possible doubt, or on the nature of the grave-furniture associated with them.

The megalithic tombs are not, like the passage-dolmens, all of one type, but present a greater variety of form than all those so far described. They include polygonal forms of more than one kind, beehive tombs, and others with rectangular chambers, but one and all are provided with a corridor in a greater or lesser degree.

(*a*) *Polygonal.* Some of the best examples of this class of monument are the series of tombs excavated at Alcalar in the province of Algarve by Estacio da Veiga. That known as Alcalar 1 would appear to differ considerably from the rest and to furnish a link between the smaller passage-dolmens and these tombs. The best known figure of this tomb is that given by da Veiga in pl. II A, showing a dolmen-like construction with a short passage, but it differs so widely from the plan given in pl. II, fig. 1, which is stated to be a faithful copy of what the excavator saw and which shows the tomb in a mutilated condition, that it is difficult not to regard pl. II A as a reconstruction, hardly warranted by the facts.[1] The only difference between this tomb and others in the same locality is the double ring of stones forming the chamber. The group as a whole illustrates in an interesting manner the progress of the art of construction evinced by their builders. The simplest, e. g. Alcalar 2, 3,[2] and 8 (the last excavated at a later date by Santos Rocha),[3] are built entirely of megaliths, except that the roof of the chamber was formed by the addition of corbelled masonry above an initial ring of orthostats. In Alcalar 3 these orthostats were set together with a nicety that leaves little to be desired, and a small niche was constructed in the wall of the chamber. In Alcalar 5 and 6[4] the whole of the chamber was constructed of corbelled masonry, as also was Alcalar 4,[5] but with the addition of two niches in the chamber. In Alcalar 7[6] (fig. 4) and 9 the system of masonry was used throughout, both in the chamber and corridor. In all cases the corridors were roofed with megaliths. The corridors vary in length from 4·30 m. in Alcalar 9, to 11 m. in Alcalar 2, and in most of them the presence of lateral jambs at intervals prove them to have been closed originally by a series of transverse slabs. Several are provided with a vestibule containing one or more steps; in others the steps are distributed at intervals between the entrance and the chamber; in Alcalar 8 and 9 a descending ramp was employed, as also in four small tombs of a similar

[1] **11,** i, 213 and 218, pls. ii and ii A.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii, 137 and 157, pls. iii and vi.
[3] **12,** i, 39, pl. i.
[4] **11,** iii, 226 and 234, pl. xiii.
[5] *Ibid.*, iii, 183, pl. x.
[6] *Ibid.*, iii, 237, pl. xvii, and **12,** i, 39, pl. ii.

kind excavated by Santos Rocha at Monte Velho.[1] Santos Rocha remarks of these latter tombs that 'they were all buried in the summit of the hill as at Alcalar, so that, if any *tumulus* was erected there, it was common to the whole necropolis'. He also records of Alcalar 9 that the whole of the corridor had been deliberately filled with a solid mass of schist slabs, set either perpendicularly or horizontally, a feature which had also been earlier observed in Alcalar 7. The chambers averaged $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. to 3 m. in diameter.

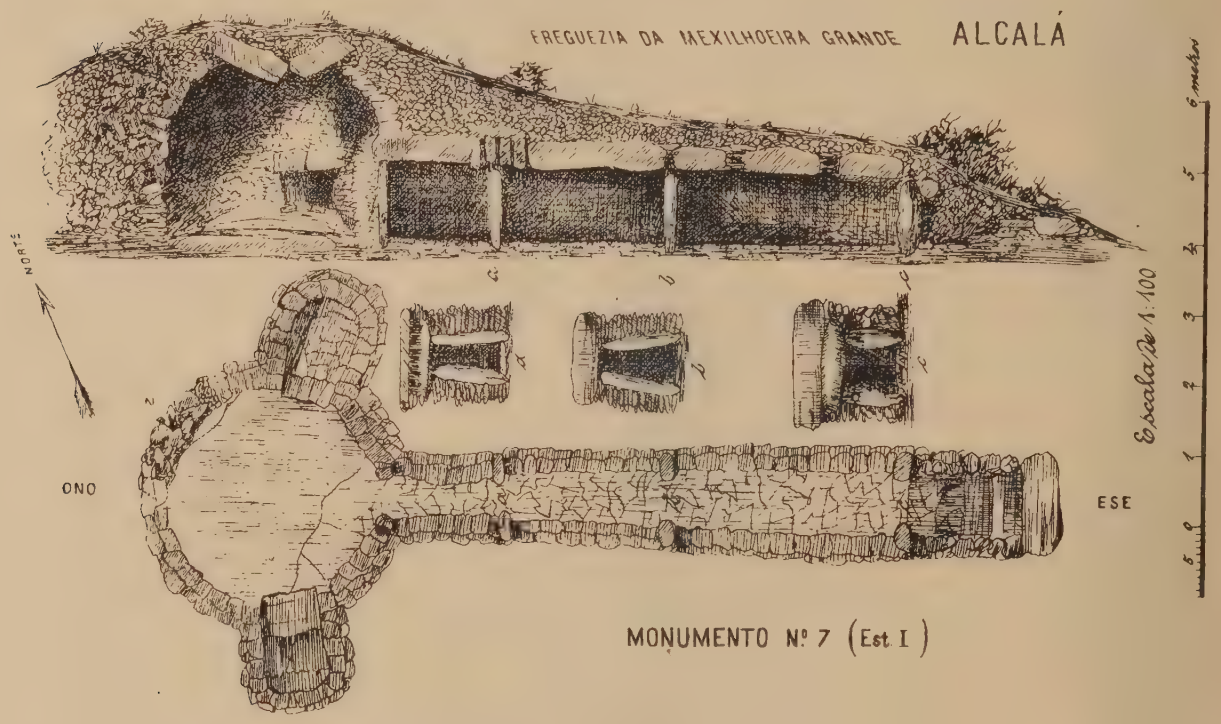

Fig. 4. Tomb No. 7: Alcalar, Algarve (after Estacio da Veiga)

Three of the monuments from Spanish Estremadura described by Mélida are by him regarded as belonging to the same class as those of Alcalar. The first is the dolmen del Prado de Lácara, already mentioned, with its curved orthostatic slabs surrounding a chamber the diameter of which at its base is no less than 5 m. This monument, however, it seems, should more rightly be assigned to the passage-dolmens, and as such be regarded as a link between the two systems. But the other two, namely the dolmen de la Cerca de Marzo near Magacela, east of Mérida, and the dolmen de la Granja del Toniñuelo near Jerez de los Caballeros, almost certainly belong to the megalithic tombs.[2] It is

[1] **13,** 32 and pl. i.

[2] **9,** 13 fig. 4, 19 fig. 20, and pls. i and v.

true Mélida speaks of remains of a tumulus (*monticulo*) 48 m. across in the latter case (in the former it was wanting), but if these mounds were artificial like that of the dolmen del Prado de Lácara, then they again may possibly represent transition stages between passage-dolmens and the subterranean tombs. But that they were built on a similar plan is proved by the diameters of their chambers. That of the dolmen de la Cerca de Marzo is no less than 4·80 m. across, that of the dolmen de la Granja del Toniñuelo 3·40 m. In both cases the megalithic slabs forming the wall of the chamber were of unequal height, and a view of the latter monument shows some of the superimposed layers of small masonry still in position. Since the walls show not the least inward inclination, it would have been impossible to cover an area of such size, particularly that of the dolmen de la Cerca de Marzo, without the aid of the system of corbelling. In both monuments the same nicety in the adjustment of the orthostatic slabs is observable as in Alcalar 3.

One of the most remarkable examples of the beehive tombs of the peninsula is the Cueva de la Pastora at Castilleja de Guzmán near Seville, the gallery of which is no less than 29 m. in length.[1] The whole of this enormous gallery and the chamber (2·50 m. in diameter) is built of corbelled masonry, with most of the megalithic cover-stones, including that of the chamber, still in position. The monument as usually figured shows a gallery all on one level with the chamber itself, but reference to the earliest account has proved that this figure is incomplete and that an important section of the monument has been omitted in later representations, namely the entrance, where in the original figure steps are shown descending to the gallery. The soil above the vault lay 1 m. thick.

Even more remarkable is the Cueva de Romeral near Antequera.[2] Here again the gallery, in this case built entirely of megaliths, is nearly 25 m. long. What was the original nature of the entrance it is now almost impossible to say, since a trench level with the gallery has been excavated right out to the base of the mound, but on a personal inspection by the writer the sides of the trench seemed to show traces towards the outer end of not having been disturbed originally, so that in all probability it had either a descending ramp or steps at this point. The main chamber is of beehive form, 5·20 m. in diameter and some 4 m. high. At the back of the chamber entrance is gained through a small opening in the wall into a short passage, the walls of which are also of dry masonry, succeeded by a megalithic portal which gives access to a second but smaller beehive chamber. It is difficult to say whether the mound is natural or

[1] F. Candau y Pizarro, *Prehistoria de la provincia de Sevilla.* Manuel Serrano Ortega, *Guía de los monumentos históricos y artísticos de los pueblos de la provincia de Sevilla* (1911).

[2] *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, xlvii, 88.

artificial. Nothing can be told from any soil visible near the monument itself, as it must all have been disturbed. The shape suggests it may be artificial in spite of its size (height 8 m. and diameter 85 m.). There are, however, several other similar mounds or hillocks in the immediate vicinity, some of which are undoubtedly natural.

To the same category belongs the well-known tomb of Marcella, Algarve, some 13 miles from the R. Guadiana.[1] It is more complex than those at Alcalar, inasmuch as it is composed of a trapeziform vestibule, through which a descending ramp leads to a rectangular gallery, which again is joined by a short contracted corridor to an almost circular chamber, unique in having three compartments enclosed by low walls occupying one segment of the circle.

Mention may also be made of the numerous tombs at Los Millares in the province of Almeria explored by Siret.[2] They form a necropolis attached to a prehistoric fort. They comprise several types; some have a polygonal chamber built of megaliths with masonry above, preceded by a short portico. Another has a long corridor divided by lateral jambs into three sections, and polygonal niches in the walls of the corridor and chamber. Another has a short wide vestibule connected by an even shorter passage with a circular chamber of corbelled masonry, in the centre of which a stone socket originally served to hold a pillar to support the roof-slab.[3] This feature also occurs in a larger tomb entered by three steps and with transverse slabs blocking the three sections of the corridor. It is regrettable that only a few of these tombs have been published; a detailed publication of the whole cemetery would have been of incalculable importance for the study of megalithic remains in Spain.

(*b*) *Elongated polygonal tombs.* This type might almost be described as 'allées couvertes', but as some of them vary considerably from what might be generally understood by that term, it has seemed better to give them a more descriptive, if somewhat clumsy, title.

The first example to be described in reality comes nearer to the 'allée couverte' than any of the rest. It was discovered by da Veiga at Nora, Algarve.[4] It is composed of three elements, a trapeziform vestibule followed by a rectangular corridor. Through these a descending ramp, terminating in a step, leads down to the trapeziform chamber. The entire roof was wanting. Remains of a similar tomb were discovered at the Serro do Castello at the eastern end of Algarve.[4] Mr. George Bonsor has opened several tombs buried in low excrescences in the *mesa* at Gandul near Mairena del Alcor, north-east of Sevilla.

[1] **11**, i, 257, pl. xii. [2] **14**.

[3] A large piece of limestone roughly conical in shape, 0·60 m. high, found by Santos Rocha in the centre of the chamber of Monte Velho I, may have served a similar purpose (**13**, 37).

[4] **11**, i, 248, and pl. xii. [5] *Ibid.*, i, 292.

One of these tombs, seen by the writer in 1914, is constructed entirely of megaliths and has a gallery with descending floor leading down to a chamber in the form of an elongated polygon, a type also figured by Siret among his discoveries at Los Millares.[1]

Possibly to this class should be assigned a megalithic grave explored by Santos Rocha in the neighbourhood of Cabo Mondego, Portugal, immediately against the walls of the chapel of Santo Amaro, to which he has given the name 'Megalitho da Capella'[2] (fig. 5). It is in form similar to those at Mairena del

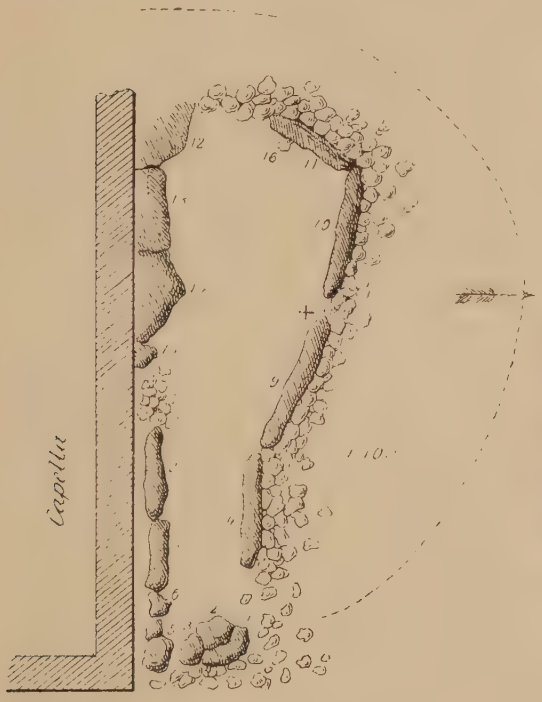

Fig. 5. Megalitho da Capella, near Figueira da Foz (after Santos Rocha).

Fig. 6. Cueva da Menga, Antequera.

Alcor and Los Millares, with a chamber 4·40 m. and a gallery 2·80 m. long. Of the gallery Santos Rocha says, 'it slopes gently to the chamber as in other similar monuments of the Peninsula'. Since he never notes this feature in any other monument explored by him except in Algarve, it would seem that he had in mind such monuments as those described above, especially as at the time he explored the tomb, he noted a buried horizontal block and the tops of orthostatic slabs at the surface of the soil, the result of some cursory investigation by other persons a few days previous to his own visit.

By far the most famous monument of the whole peninsula is the stupendous Cueva da Menga at Antequera, Andalucia (fig. 6). All the accounts up to the

[1] **14**, fig. 170. [2] **8**, 185 ff., fig. 298.

present describe it as buried in a tumulus, a description which does justice neither to the monument nor to its surroundings. Its position is at the northern summit of a quite considerable hillock, which rises steeply to a height of some 30 feet above a roadway at the northern end and slopes gently downwards for nearly 100 yards to its southern end close to the main road from Antequera to Granada. To give some idea of the size of the hillock, it may be added that the summit is occupied by a small corn-field interspersed with olive-trees. The sole justification for the use of the word tumulus in connexion with this monument is a low artificial mound of earth piled up above its inner end. The line of demarcation between this artificial tumulus and the hillock which encloses the sides and southern end of the monument is, even after the lapse of centuries, perfectly visible.

It is impossible to say at the present day what was the nature of the entrance. Outside the trilithon forming the present entrance stretches a short range of small stones on either side from the entrance to the edge of the mound, and it is possible that these originally flanked a vestibule with descending ramp of a similar character to that at Nora, and that it was destroyed either by detrition of the steep northern face of the mound or by demolition in order to gain access to the main part of the structure.

Nothing can give a better idea of the enormous size of the monument than the cover-stone over the entrance. One estimate of its cubic capacity places it at 68 cubic metres with a weight of no less than 170 tons. The engineering skill requisite to place such a stupendous mass in its present position is well-nigh incalculable. The rest of the monument is on an equally large scale. It measures 24 m. in length by 6·15 m. at its greatest width, and varies in internal height between 2·70 m. and 3 m. It is unique among known tombs from the peninsula in having three large roughly squared pillars set at intervals below the enormous blocks of the roof at its widest part. Though possibly not evidencing the same degree of advanced knowledge which produced the false vaults of the beehive tombs, it must certainly be regarded as the zenith of megalithic architecture in the peninsula.

(*c*) *Tombs with rectangular chamber.* At the southern end of the hillock in which the Cueva da Menga was built, lies a second megalithic tomb of quite a different character, known by the name of the Cueva de Viera.[1] It consists of a gallery, 19 m. long by 1·20 m. to 1·35 m. wide, terminating in a roughly square chamber 1·75 m. wide, to which access is obtained through a door-slab with a square opening about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. from the floor. No details are given of the nature of the entrance, and it is now mutilated at this point, but as the floor of the corridor lies nearly a metre below the surface of the mound at this end, the probability is

[1] *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, xlvii (1905), 84.

that it was entered by steps. Of the mound concealing the tomb only about one-half, above the level of the bottom of the cover-stones, is artificial.

Similar to the Cueva de Viera must be several of the so-called dolmens, the existence of which is recorded by Góngora y Martinez at Dilar, south of Granada, near El Tocón and on the road from Mora to Alcalá la Real. Góngora y Martinez's account leaves a good deal to be desired, but it seems clear that many of them had square chambers and that they were in some cases buried.[1]

For various reasons, above all on account of their size, it seems more than probable that to this class ought to be assigned the well-known monuments of Eguilaz,[2] Eskalmendi,[3] and others in the province of Álava, north of Vittoria. Particularly does this conclusion seem to hold good for the so-called dolmen of Eguilaz. Perhaps the most satisfactory account of it is that given by Professor Gadow in his *In Northern Spain*[4] (fig. 7). According to him it is situated in a circular mound some 150 ft. in diameter, which at its eastern end rises in an abrupt slope to a height of 7 ft. From thence it slopes up another 6 ft. to 8 ft. to the centre, whence it falls gradually away to a field beyond. 'The centre', he says, 'contains a dolmen, the top slab of which lies some three feet below the summit of the whole earthwork.' The monument consists of a chamber nearly square, 6 ft. to 7 ft. in width and about the same height. Three sides are formed of three large slabs, that on the northern side being 10 ft. to 12 ft. long, 8 ft. high, and 2 ft. thick, and that on the southern side 12 ft. to 14 ft. long and 9 ft. high. The eastern end is blocked by two pillars 9 ft. high, with a similar pillar against the north-east corner. The monument is covered by a single megalith 12 ft. by 8 ft. The measurements here given vary considerably from those in other accounts. According to one the cover-stone measures 19 ft. by 15 ft., and indeed no two accounts agree, except in witnessing to the large size of the monument. Two accounts, however, speak of a small gallery leading from the chamber to the edge of the mound.[5]

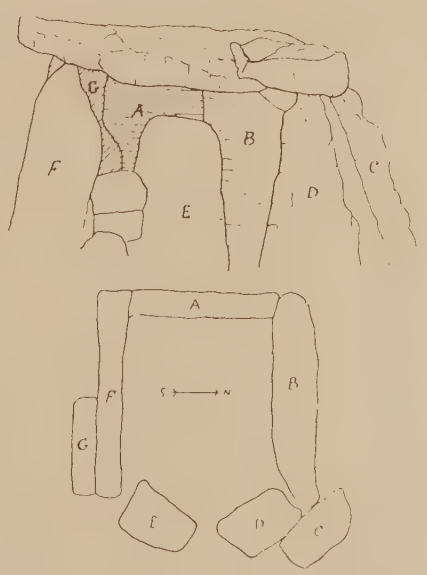

Fig. 7. East View and Plan of the Dolmen of Eguilaz (after Gadow, *In Northern Spain*).

[1] **15,** 89 ff. (see particularly p. 105).

[2] **16,** iii, 155.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxviii, 78, and **6,** 21.

[4] p. 297. Thanks are due to Prof. Gadow for permission to use this plan.

[5] **16,** iii, 154 and *Semanario Pintoresco Español* (1857), 156. According to the latter, 'La entrada á este sepulcro por el Oriente principió á los 20 pies, poco más ó menos, con un camino cubierto de 4 pies de ancho y 4 de alto . . .'

It remains to mention one important feature of the megalithic tombs, namely, the absence of uniform orientation. While the dolmens and passage-dolmens are mainly orientated east to west, the orientation of the megalithic tombs is quite irregular, and is possibly to some extent conditioned by their position. Thus in the tombs at Alcalar the position of the entrance varies from east to

Fig. 8. Map of Spain and Portugal showing distribution of megalithic remains.

south; that of the Cueva de Menga faces north-west; that of the Cueva de la Viera east; and of the Cueva de Romeral south.

II. Distribution. One of the most outstanding features of the distribution of the megalithic monuments is the confinement of the various types to more or less well-defined regions, a fact which gives rise to problems of no little difficulty in regard to their origin. This question must, however, be deferred to a later stage of this paper until their relative chronology has been investigated. For while the question of origin is one of great complexity, their distribution is correspondingly simple (fig. 8).

The simple rectangular dolmen, if it is to be regarded as such and not as a cist, appears to be confined to northern Spain where it occurs in the provinces of Gerona, Lerida, and the Basque territory, and to the same area belong the rectangular dolmens with small porticoes. An exception to these types is, apart from one special monument in Navarra, a grave of the simple 'allée couverte' type at Romayna de la Selva in the province of Gerona, known by the name of la Cova d'en Dayna. The monument measures 7·70 m. in length by about 1·50 m. in width. The monument is surrounded by a tumulus 11 m. in diameter enclosed in a cromlech of stones.

The simple polygonal type occurs in Navarra, e.g. the dolmen of Arrizala in Álava, and in somewhat smaller dimensions in northern Portugal and possibly in other parts of north-western Spain, usually surrounded by, and almost buried in, a *mamôa*.

The widest distribution of any type of megalithic monument is that of the polygonal passage-dolmens, which occur in large numbers in northern and central Portugal.[1] In the northern provinces they take for the most part the form of *mamôas* and as such many may belong to the class of simple polygonal dolmens, but in the provinces of Tras-os-Montes, e.g. at Villa Pouca de Aguiar and in Beira Alta round the head-waters of the Mondego, the passage-dolmen is well represented. Santos Rocha explored another large group on the *serras* near Cabo Mondego. In Portuguese Estremadura north of the Tagus another group occurs in the neighbourhood of Cintra. Beira Baixa has produced a fair number, but one of the most important groups lies on the high-plateau of Alemtejo from the Tagus on the north southwards to Évora. In southern Estremadura and in the southern half of Alemtejo they are very rare if not non-existent. The northern Alemtejo group seems to have thrust out feelers into western Spain along the valleys of the Tagus and the Guadiana. In the former region they occur near Garrovillas and Cáceres, and in the latter particularly south-east of Badajoz. A few examples have also been found a short distance eastward of Mérida, and three monuments, one known as the Dolmen del Conde Galeote, have come to light as far east as la Cardenchosa de Azuaga on the confines of the province of Córdoba, and one actually in that province near Fuente Ovejuna.[2]

Southern Alemtejo on the one hand and the eastern boundary of Spanish Estremadura seem to represent the limit of the polygonal type, for, though various writers speak of dolmens in southern Spain, the evidence for the existence of any of the simpler types is more than doubtful. It is true that some of the monuments figured by Góngora y Martinez bear strong resemblance to the rectangular and other types prevalent in the province of Gerona and elsewhere,

[1] *O.A.P.* xvii, 255 ff.

[2] See **9**, 24–5.

but there are strong reasons for suspecting the accuracy of his figures. Thus the figure of the dolmen de las Ascencias, north of Gor in the province of Almeria, represents it as a monument of a fairly simple type, but the value of the figure can be judged by the author's admission a little later, that 'in order to give a clearer idea of the door, our artist has suppressed the passage-way in the figure'.[1] Apart from this consideration, full weight must be given to his statement that of the monuments, those 'at Dilar are buried to a great depth; those at Eriales generally to the level of the soil, and those at Gitanos to half their height'. Góngora y Martinez refers cursorily or in some detail to numerous megaliths in south-western Spain, but his account leaves so much to be desired that a fresh survey of them can alone determine their true place among the megalithic monuments of the peninsula. As matters stand at present, there seems to be full justification for classing them along with the megalithic tombs. Some undoubtedly belong to that category, as for example is shown by his figure of the so-called dolmen at Dilar.[2] The megalithic tombs are, with the possible exception of those in the district of Álava mentioned above, confined to southern Portugal and southern Spain. In the former area, so far as is known at present, one group occurs in an area reaching from north-west of Lagos to the vicinity of Portimão. Another occupies a short stretch of coast westward from the River Guadiana, with others to the north, and isolated examples in the intervening country between the two main groups. Their present distribution suggests an original diffusion throughout the greater part of Algarve. Mention has been made of certain monuments near Cabo Mondego and in the neighbourhood of Mérida, which bear some affinities to the megalithic tombs. In southern Spain they have been found in the neighbourhood of Sevilla, near Granada, and in the province of Almeria, at Los Millares, near Gor, Fonelas, and Laborcillas, while, according to Góngora y Martinez, north of Granada they occur in the province of Jaen near the River Guadalquivir.[3]

The most striking feature in the distribution of megalithic monuments is their absence in eastern and central Spain. The area in which they do occur comprises a wide strip along the northern, western, and southern sides of the peninsula.

III. Contents. *Dolmens.*—Recent excavation in several of the rectangular graves of northern Spain has thrown an entirely new light on their date. It has

[1] **15**, fig. 118, and p. 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 94. It is probable that several of his figures of the monuments described by him partake of the nature of fig. 93, in which the dolmen of Dilar is portrayed with all the mound which originally concealed it removed.

[3] **15**, 90.

now been proved beyond doubt that they belong mainly to the chalcolithic period. Of the Geronese monuments a dolmen at Llanera produced a vase similar to a beaker with zigzag decorations; and others have furnished copper objects of various types, sherds of beakers, and amber beads.[1] In the Cova d'en Dayna were found two fibrolite plaques and a copper awl.[2] Copper awls, rings, and arrow-heads have also been met with in dolmens in Guipuzcoa and Navarra,[3] as also vases of beaker type.[4]

On the other hand the small polygonal dolmens of northern Portugal seem, as at Chã das Arcas, to have produced nothing decisive for the determination of their date, unless the presence of small celts (see below) is to be taken as indicative of a period bordering on, if not actually belonging to, an early chalcolithic age.[5]

Passage-dolmens.—If the material from the Portuguese dolmens of simpler form is of a somewhat scanty nature, the exact inverse is the case with that from the passage-dolmens. Among this wealth of material it seems possible to distinguish signs of a gradual advance in the culture of the dolmen-builders, thus rendering admissible an attempt at differentiation between the earlier and later elements.[6] It must, however, be conceded at the outset that certain difficulties beset any such endeavour. In the first place, while some monuments have produced only a few objects, in others they may be numbered by hundreds, and it is by no means easy to say whether this difference is due to the length of time over which the monument was used as a place of sepulture or whether the smaller finds merely represent a poorer element in the population. Secondly, there are certain types of objects which seem to persist throughout. One example is the schist celt of roughly rectangular section, sometimes with pointed, sometimes with widish thin butt. But perhaps even more noticeable is one of the pottery types, namely a low bowl-shaped vase with concave sides and rounded base, the junction of the wall and base of the vase being marked by a pronounced carination. This vase is one of the most persistent types of the early culture of the peninsula. It appears to be associated with the earlier and later stages of the passage-dolmens; it occurs in the megalithic tombs of Algarve; it is associated with the early Bronze Age cists[7] in the same district and elsewhere, and

[1] **7**, 107, 116, and 117. [2] *Ibid.*, 105–6.

[3] Aranzadi-Barandiaran-Eguren, *Exploración de nueve dólmenes del Aralar guipuzcoano*, 3–7, pl. 12, 6 and 8. **3**, 41, pl. 19, 1–4, and *id.–id.*, *Exploración de cinco dólmenes del Aralar*, 39, and pl. 17.

[4] **7**, 121, n. 2. [5] *Portugalia*, i, 696.

[6] An attempt of this nature has already been made by Georg Wilke in his *Südwesteuropäische Megalithkultur*, but it can hardly be regarded, for reasons which will appear later, as fortunate in the choice of some of its illustrative examples or in all its conclusions.

[7] The term Bronze Age is here used in preference to Copper Age and is to be understood in its most comprehensive sense, although the latter would be more strictly correct. The use of pure copper

that both with inhumation and cremation burials, and was well represented in the cemetery of El Argar. On the other hand it is the very persistence of such types as the above and the occurrence alongside of them of other objects, not themselves found in association with one another, which seems to evidence some degree of cultural development, even if only extending over a comparatively short period of time.

With the proviso already mentioned of the possibility of small grave-finds being no more than the result of a less rich element in the population, the following find may perhaps be regarded as fairly typical of the earlier dolmens. It comes from the Anta (no. 3) de Lapeira near Pavia in the province of Alemtejo and is now preserved in the Museu Ethnologico at Lisbon. It comprises three schist celts, two of quadrangular and one of oval section; a schist chisel; a flint knife (such knives are formed of long flakes); a triangular flint arrow-head; and two plain bowls. The celts with quadrangular section represent the type *par excellence* of the dolmens. That with ovalsection is far less common and is probably in Portugal as elsewhere typologically earlier and is a relic of a period prior to the megaliths.

Fig. 9. Objects from a Dolmen at Carrajolla, Monforte, Alemtejo (*c.* ⅓). Museu Municipal, Elvas.

Besides these celt-types another of fairly frequent occurrence was evidently intended for use as an adze. It is thin in section and has a chisel edge. Of the earlier arrow-heads some are of short triangular form, occasionally with slightly concave base or with rudimentary tangs; others are leaf-shaped; in others the upper end is in the form of an isosceles triangle with a rounded or sub-triangular butt; they are also occasionally furnished with notches at the junction of the butt and the point. A possibly primitive form of arrow-head are certain flint flakes with oblique point such as were found with typical celts in the dolmen at Cunha Baixa.[1]

The pottery is for the most part of small size, in the forms of round-bottomed cups and bowls, sometimes decorated with a pair of mamillae set close together (fig. 9); vases of the carinated type already described; and low pots, with almost

without alloy seems to have lasted longer in Spain and Portugal than in other western European countries, and thus the term Copper Age has purposely been avoided as likely to convey the idea of an older period than the finds in some cases really represent.

[1] *O. A. P.*, x, 28, figs. 7–10.

vertical walls. A pot of this class occurred in Anta no. 4 at Zambujeira, Ponte de Sor, Alemtejo, along with a celt of oval section.

The differentiation of earlier and later tombs in central as compared with northern Portugal is rendered difficult by the frequent occurrence in the latter of that most characteristic of all the prehistoric objects of Portugal, the schist plaque decorated with incised patterns often no more than an arrangement of hatched bands and triangles, but in others with rude representations of the human

Fig. 10. Engraved slate plaques and 'crozier' from *antas*, Alemtejo, Portugal. Museu Municipal, Elvas.

face (fig. 10). Other examples show a rudimentary attempt at a head, while in the best examples the human features are clearly delineated and the arms and even legs are roughly portrayed. It is clear, however, from their associations in central Portugal that they were in frequent use among the earlier dolmen builders of that region.

The best evidence for a cultural progress among the megalith-builders of Portugal is furnished by the larger passage-dolmens with the extraordinary wealth of objects deposited in them. The use of these dolmens over a prolonged

period of time is demonstrated by the number of bodies buried in them. In the dolmen of Monte Abrahão, for example, Ribeiro estimated, from the number of loose canine teeth discovered, that no less than sixty-three or sixty-four persons had been buried in that monument. In this estimate he did not include canines associated with pieces of jaw, those of aged persons, or of very young individuals. Including these latter he reckoned the total number of burials to be not far short of eighty.[1] Equally significant are the numbers of plaques and arrows associated with these dolmens. In the Anta da Velada, Alemtejo, were found twenty-six plaques; in the Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja, Alemtejo, no less than the whole or fragments of eighty-eight examples, including two of pottery. The Orca do Tanque, Beira Alta, produced fifty-three arrow-heads of different types,[2] Monte Abrahão 120 and fragments, and the Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja the extraordinary number of 322 specimens.[3]

Turning to the various types of objects found in these and similar monuments, the celts comprise the common form with quadrangular section, more often with wide butts; very occasionally examples of that with oval section, and also rarely a small triangular type usually made of amphibolite or other hard material, as compared with the schistose rock of which the larger celts are made. The adze is also not infrequent and it is sometimes concavo-convex along its long axis. The arrow-heads present a remarkable variety of types. All the primitive forms noticed above occur in large numbers, but in addition new forms appear exhibiting a great advance in technique. Those with concave base now occur with long barbs, and this innovation is also associated with a long tang. A peculiar but somewhat rare type has a triangular blade and sub-triangular butt, with lateral spurs on each side at the junction of the blade and the butt. But the most striking and by no means uncommon novelty is a type which may be described as 'mitriform'. It has a fine point from which the blade swells rapidly in width to the centre of the sides, thence decreasing slightly at first and again widening into two short barbs, the base between the barbs being almost flat or slightly convex. In many cases the arrow-heads are finely serrated.

A further advance in the technique of flint-working is represented by lance-heads[4] of this material, some of graceful elongated form, others almost equilateral. The former type was found in the dolmen da Granja do Marquez, the latter in the Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja, and an intermediate form in the Anta Grande da Ordem.

[1] **10**, pt. ii, 14. [2] *O.A.P.*, iii, 109.

[3] In the case containing the finds from Tanque in the Museu Ethnologico at Belem approximately 196 arrow-heads are exhibited, but possibly from more than one dolmen. The number from the Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja is based on a similar personal count.

[4] Many of these are regarded by Hubert Schmidt as the predecessors of that typical Spanish weapon, the copper halberd. *Estudios acerca de los principios de la Edad de los Metales en España*, 33 ff.

The pottery also keeps step with the development of the other classes of objects. Here again the simple forms of round-bottomed bowls and cups and the carinated vase still occur. This latter form gives rise to a taller vase with higher sides and deeper base, sometimes almost of hemispherical form. Vases of this class were well represented in the Orca dos Juncaes, Beira, with and without a single loop-handle. In two cases the carinated junction of the body of the vase and the base is decorated with horizontal incisions. From the sub-conical pot has sprung a taller vase of flower-pot shape, sometimes as in the Orca dos Juncaes with a slight rim. An example from a dolmen at Forles, Beira, has a mamilla

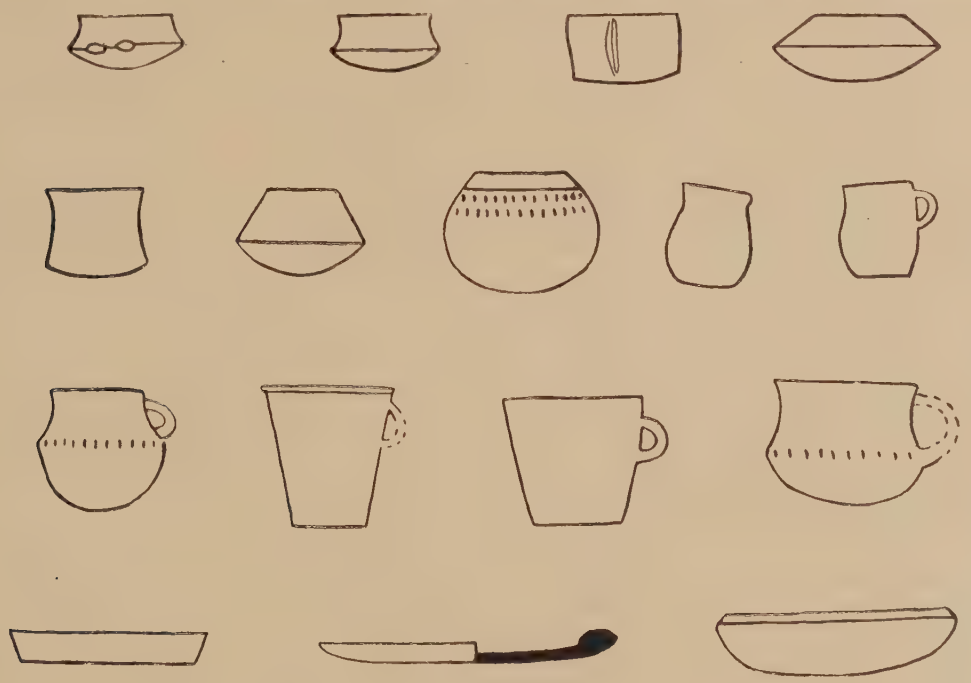

Fig. 11. Vase-forms from the later dolmens of Portugal (chiefly *c.* $\frac{1}{8}$).

a little below the mouth of the vase; while specimens from the Orca dos Juncaes are provided with loop-handles, in one instance also with mamillae on each side of the handle[1] (fig. 11).

The increase in size noticeable in the above-mentioned vase-types also finds expression in large shallow *paterae* or saucers,[2] and in a wide, slightly concave platter with a pronounced rim. A new type is a strongly carinated vase with rounded base and a sub-conical upper part, the walls of which have either a steep pitch, as in an example from the Anta da Velada, Alemtejo, or are more

[1] Cp. an example from the Arcainha da Sobreda, concelho de Oliveira do Hospital, Beira Alta (*Portugalia*, i, 7, fig. 7).

[2] One from Tanque, Beira, measures nearly 1 ft. in diameter.

depressed as in one from Tanque. Worthy of notice are also concave-walled vases with vertical ribs, evidently a development from the mamillae, as at Granja do Marquez and the Anta da Velada. The greatest innovation is, however, the presence of incised decoration. It appears on spheroidal vases at Forles in the form of two or three bands of punctures or incisions a little below the rim, and more numerous on sherds from the Cabeço dos Moinhos near Figueira da Foz.[1] Similar decoration occurred on a vase almost of beaker-form from the Orca do Outeiro do Rato, concelho do Nellas, Beira Alta.[2] More ambitious decoration is presented on sherds of vases from the dolmen of Seixo in bands of ribbing, hatched triangles, and bands of trellis-hatching,[3] and in a continuous chevron design associated with a band of parallel lines on a sherd from the Cabeço dos Moinhos.[4] The sherds from this latter dolmen are evidently portions of large bowls such as were found in the well-known grottoes of Palmella and as such have an especial significance.

It is in these later dolmens that, in addition to schist beads, the large numbers of ribeirite or callaïs beads occur, as in the Anta Grande da Ordem,[5] the Anta da Herdade da Capella,[6] both in the concelho de Avis, Alemtejo, in the latter instance accompanied by three triangular pendants of the same material. In the Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja there were also found a few amber beads. A few exotic objects also require to be mentioned. First the schist crozier from the dolmen of Estria. This striking object, as also the limestone-handled adze from the same dolmen and the limestone cylinders from Monte Abrahão, have often been paralleled with similar objects from the grottoes of Palmella and of Folha das Barradas, near Cintra. Two fragments of similar croziers were also discovered in the Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja. Further may be noted the small thin limestone bowls from Granja do Marquez and an ivory box from an *anta* at Bellas (Belem Museum).

Copper is very rare, but does occur. In the Anta Grande da Ordem were found two fragments[7]; in an *anta* at Assobiador two arrow- or small lance-heads and an awl (?)[8]; in the Anta da Herdade da Capella a lance-head,[9] and in the Anta do Cabeço de Considreiro, Alemtejo, an awl.[10]

Megalithic tombs. Not only the architecture but also the grave-furniture of the megalithic tombs displays a marked advance on those of the passage-dolmens, without, however, differing sufficiently widely to postulate any distinction in race

[1] **8,** 113, and pl. xx, figs. 275–7.

[2] *Portugalia*, i, 812, fig. 7. This vase and that from Sobreda are figured by Wilke, *op. cit.*, fig. 18, as examples of his first period, but the decoration in the one case and the handled form in the other certainly demand a later dating.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, 3, figs. 2–8.

[4] **8,** 113, and pl. xx, fig. 281.

[5] *O. A. P.*, i, 120.

[6] *Ibid.*, i, 214.

[7] *O. A. P.*, i, 120.

[8] *Ibid.*, ii, 239.

[9] *Ibid.*, xiii, 312.

[10] **17,** 173.

between the builders of the two types. That some of the passage-dolmens were still in use at a time when the race who buried their dead in them were passing or had passed from a neolithic to a chalcolithic culture is proved by many of the finds. That being so, although not all the megalithic tombs of Algarve have produced positive evidence of that event, yet the sum total of the finds shows beyond doubt that their builders were evidently in all cases well acquainted with metal. The older types of objects still persist, but in diminished numbers. Estacio da Veiga notes, for example, the scarcity of stone celts and flint knives. In the seven tombs explored by him at Alcalar he found only the whole or part of some six celts in all, some of diorite, and in the monuments of Nora and Marcella some seven more. Only one from Alcalar 1 is of the flat-sided type so distinctive of the passage-dolmens, but even this has its angles rounded off. A large proportion are adzes and at least two are of amphibolite and of the small triangular form.[1] Both Marcella and Nora produced several flint knives, but in the tombs of Alcalar one to four seems to be the usual number, with the exception of Alcalar 3, where four fragments were found in the gallery and chamber and seven others in the niche, the longest 380 mm. (15 in.) in length, the others varying between 293 mm. and 177 mm.

The arrow-heads are little short of remarkable. The simple triangular form still occurs, as also the triangular form with shallow concave base.[2] More characteristic of these tombs, however, is a type which da Veiga and Santos Rocha describe as 'mitriform'. It is of pointed ovate form with recurved barbs and a deep rounded notch in the base. Both this and the triangular arrow-head, several of the latter of elegant elongated form, occur with barbs sometimes measuring more than half the total length of the entire arrow-head. The most remarkable were found in Alcalar 1, where four specimens consist of little more than slender barbs set at an acute angle to one another. In Alcalar 1 also was found one example of the curious mitriform type previously noted, which was seen to be associated with the later period of the Portuguese passage-dolmens (fig. 12). Many of the arrow-heads show fine serrations. A few large flint lance-heads or halberds were also found.

The pottery is neither plentiful nor very remarkable. It includes the bowl with incurved walls, rounded bowls, and a depressed globose vase with short neck, all types known from the passage-dolmens. Only in Alcalar 1 were found a few fragments of pottery incised with horizontal lines. On the other hand there were found several limestone vases of somewhat coarse manufacture and in no

[1] It is true that several of the tombs appear to have been invaded prior to da Veiga's exploration, but even that fact could hardly explain the absence of celts, when other objects had been left behind.

[2] e.g., **11**, iii, fig. xi, and **12**, pl. 1.

respect equal to those from Granja do Marquez. The slate plaques so common in central Portugal are here only represented by a few either imperfect examples or fragments. Numerous callaïs beads occur; also others, as well as pendants, of amber. In Alcalar 3, Marcella, and Nora were found pieces of ivory, in the

Fig. 12. Arrow-heads from Alcalar 1 (after Estacio da Veiga).

latter two cases decorated. Four of the monuments furnished objects of copper. From Alcalar 4 came one tanged lance-head, while in the niche in Alcalar 3, which contained the long flint knives, was found what almost amounts to a hoard. It consisted of a celt, two adzes, a diminutive chisel, five daggers with side notches at the base for attachment and with one or more midribs, a saw (?), two awls of quadrangular section, a band with pointed ends 75 cm. long and 26 mm.

wide (? a belt), and other indefinite fragments.[1] In Alcalar 4 were also found two pieces of thin gold, one part of a narrow band (a diadem ?), the other decorated with engraved cross-hatched ornament.[2]

In Monte Velho 2, Santos Rocha found what he calls a blade of copper, and in tomb 3 a celt.[3] This was of a simple type with straight sides and thin butt, thus giving it an oval section along its long axis. In this connexion it is worthy of note that, though Alcalar 3 was entirely constructed of megaliths, the extraordinarily accurate and close-fitting disposition of the orthostatic slabs suggests an advanced stage in megalithic building, a position also held by Alcalar 4 with its chamber and niches of corbelled masonry. On the other hand the architecture of the tombs at Monte Velho would appear to stand at a lower level. The celt from Monte Velho 3 is certainly of a less advanced type than that from Alcalar 3. In this, as also in one of the adzes, the sides curved outwards to a wide crescentic blade, such as marks in other European countries what is usually recognized as the second period of the Bronze Age culture. The pottery in the Monte Velho tombs is as inconspicuous as that from Alcalar. For the most part of small dimensions, it includes simple types already noticed from the Portuguese passage-dolmens as well as the globular pot with short neck which occurs at Alcalar. One small vase of well-fired red ware, 0·03 m. high and 0·08 m. in diameter, is decorated with rows of punctuations. Santos Rocha notes its similarity to sherds belonging to the full Copper Age from cists at Baralha near Mexilhoeira, Algarve. The type is not unknown from the *antas* of Portugal, but occurs frequently in the cist-graves of Algarve. The Monte Velho tombs also produced sherds of large rimmed platters[4] and limestone vases.

The Spanish tombs belonging to the same class as those of Algarve would appear for the most part to have been plundered in antiquity. Neither from the interior of those at Antequera nor at Castilleja de Guzmán have any finds been recorded. Near the entrance to the latter tomb, however, there were found under a large stone forty leaf-shaped lance-heads of bronze,[5] in form akin to those known from Portuguese sites, except in so far as they were furnished with long tangs of cylindrical section and the blade has a well-marked midrib instead of being flat as in the older forms.[6] Cartailhac seems to regard them with some suspicion and pronounces them in any case as of considerably later date than the monument itself. If genuine, they would seem at least to presuppose a continued knowledge, possibly some cult, of this remarkable tomb, but Cartailhac is undoubtedly correct in refusing to regard them as in any degree contemporaneous.

[1] **11,** iii, 173, pl. ix.
[2] *Ibid.*, 225, pl. xii.
[3] **13,** 43 and 53, and figs. 30 and 54.
[4] **13,** figs. 72–6.
[5] Museo Español de Antigüedades, vii, 311.
[6] **17,** 189, fig. 265.

From the various tombs at Los Millares and elsewhere in the province of Almeria M. Siret recovered a wealth of objects, but these, like the tombs themselves, have only been published in summary wise. The chief point to notice here is the absence of stone celts and in contrast the comparative frequency of copper implements, comprising celts, adzes, awls, and even a saw. Stone is represented by long flint flakes (knives), large lance-heads, and finely barbed and serrated arrow-heads of the same material. The pottery is important, since it includes examples of incised ware, including specimens of beaker form. Other remarkable vases are decorated with owl-like faces, radiated circles, and even with groups of a stag and hinds.[1] Siret mentions beads of callaïs, jet, amethyst, and amber. The schist plaques which form such a feature of the grave-furniture in Portugal are here unrepresented, except by two examples with a very rudimentary anthropomorphic design.[2]

The tombs excavated by Mr. George Bonsor near Mairena del Alcor have also yielded a rich harvest of discoveries, belonging to the same period of time as that covered by the culture of the Almeria tombs. The tombs were evidently in use over a long period, since, as in many of the Portuguese passage-dolmens, not only the chambers, but also the galleries were filled with burials. The deposits comprised stone celts and also numerous copper implements, such as awls, celts, and daggers. One of the daggers had its handle of bone still preserved and covered with gold foil. The flint arrow-heads as elsewhere are finely worked. A strong feature of the pottery is incised ware filled with white paste, such as Mr. Bonsor discovered in large quantities at Acebuchal buried round the hearths of large circular huts.[3] Perhaps no sites in Spain excavated up to the present have yielded such admirable examples of this pottery as this district of the Alcores. The huge crater, 35 cm. high and 44 cm. in diameter, reconstructed from fragments found at Acebuchal, may well claim to be regarded as one of the masterpieces of this attractive ware.[4]

Before leaving the contents of the megalithic tombs, mention must be made of certain discoveries in the dolmen of Eguilaz. These consisted of two copper lance-heads and another implement of the same metal, to judge from the accounts an awl; also lance-heads of stone (? flint) and 'some curved knives' (? also of flint).[5]

It will be recognized from the above description of the types of megalithic graves and their distribution in the Spanish peninsula that the problem of the

[1] L. Siret, 'Religions néolithiques', pls. xiii–xv and fig. 14 (*Revue préhistorique*, 1908).

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. viii, 13 and 14.

[3] I am indebted for the knowledge of these discoveries (unpublished) to Mr. Bonsor, who has kindly permitted me to mention them.

[4] G. Bonsor, *Les Colonies agricoles pré-romaines de la vallée du Bétis* (*Revue Arch.*, 3me sér., xxxv, 316).

[5] **16**, iii, 154.

distribution of megaliths in Europe is in no way simplified by a survey of the material known up to the present time. Indeed it would seem to be rendered even more difficult than before. Particularly is this so if the distribution of the various types be taken into account. The outstanding feature is the absence of dolmens in the southern part of the peninsula. According to one opinion the megalithic monuments should be assigned to the Ligures, who, like their predecessors, the peoples of the Palaeolithic Age, as also the Iberi of later times, are regarded as of African origin.[1] Such a source for the practice of megalithic building would fit in well with the widely accepted theory of the diffusion of this practice from an oriental source by way of the north coast of Africa. Unfortunately an apparently insuperable drawback to this theory exists in the fact that up to the present time it is impossible to prove a date prior to the first millennium for the enormous numbers of dolmens from Tunis and Algeria. Indeed, in the majority of cases, the megalithic graves in the Libyan region can hardly be dated before 500 B.C. At the moment, therefore, it is difficult to conceive of a land-borne diffusion of the idea of megalithic building along the littoral regions of North Africa, though it is possible that future discoveries in that area may yield a clue to the solution of this fascinating problem. If any ground exists in the light of our present knowledge for supposing an oriental origin for the megaliths, it must rather be based on the idea of communication by sea, otherwise it would seem impossible to explain the absence of the simple or even of the passage-dolmen in the south of the peninsula and the extraordinary frequence of the latter in Portugal. By way of explanation of this phenomenon it has been suggested that the megalithic tombs of the south-east represent the early stages of the practice, to be dated on the evidence of the grave-finds to a chalcolithic period. Thence they spread westwards into southern Portugal, in the rest of which country an attempt to imitate the more ambitious method of building ended with the erection of the passage-dolmens. Likewise, the furniture of the passage-dolmens, with its greater preponderance of purely neolithic types, represents the culture of a more backward section of the population inhabiting the western portion of the peninsula. Though in some respects attractive, this explanation must be discarded at once, because it is in direct conflict with all that is known of the evolution of the megaliths elsewhere in western and in northern Europe. There can be no doubt whatever that the megalithic tombs are directly evolved from the passage-dolmens and in the main are of slightly later date, even though it is more than probable that copper was in full use among the builders of the former class some time before it became known in the west. Thus the contemporaneity of many of the monuments of both types is in no way precluded by the more

[1] A. Schulten, *Hispania*, 109.

advanced types of grave-furniture, for example, in Andalucia and Almeria. The small celt of harder stones, such as fibrolite and diorite, the finely serrated barbed arrows, those of mitriform shape, and the fine lance-heads of flint, to mention a few of the objects, all point to a people standing on the same cultural level. It is only in the knowledge of metal that the dwellers in the south-eastern districts were in advance of their western brethren.

In the matter of the pottery, the problem arises how far the various classes are the outcome of one continuous cultural development or are to be regarded as the products of different centres of culture in the peninsula. The latter opinion has been advanced with some force by Bosch Gimpera in his *Prehistoria Catalana* and in his appendix to Schulten's *Hispania*. He there offers, for example, strong grounds for regarding the incised pottery, to which the beakers belong, as the product of a region comprising central Spain, as evidenced by the numerous discoveries of this class of pottery in that region, e.g. Acebuchal, Ciempozuelos, Talavera de la Reina, and other places.[1] In that case the beakers and bowls of this ware discovered at Palmella, Portugal, must be regarded as derived from, or instigated by communication with, the centre of the peninsula. There is, however, one aspect of this question that calls for consideration, namely the presence of numerous examples of incised ware in the Portuguese passage-dolmens, which may surely claim to be forerunners of the beehive and other forms of megalithic tombs. The vase of black pottery with incised ornament found in the Orca do Outeiro do Rato has already been mentioned.[2] Its form is eminently suggestive of a prototype of the beakers of Palmella and elsewhere. Other dolmens explored by Santos Rocha, e.g. at Seixo and Cumieira, furnished sherds of incised ware. It is true, however, that the practice of decorating pottery with incisions appears to be associated with what has been held at a previous stage to represent an advance in the culture of the builders of the Portuguese dolmens, e. g. the Antas at Tanque, Comenda da Igreja, Ordem, Forles, and others. Thus, for example, along with numerous sherds of incised pottery at Outeiro de S. Mamede, were found schist celts of quadrangular section with thick butts, others, less common, with thin butts, but also with flat sides (celts of oval section being rare), arrows of the distinctive mitriform type, callaïs beads, and large rimmed platters (Belem Museum). As suggestive as the beaker-like vase from Outeiro do Rato is a concave-sided bowl from Comenda da Igreja, decorated in relief with the rudiments of a human face

[1] A useful literature of this incised pottery is given by Bosch Gimpera in the above-cited appendix, p. 163, n. 1.

[2] The dolmen of Outeiro do Rato is placed by Bosch Gimpera (*Hispania*, p. 150) in the earliest period of the Portuguese megaliths, but the presence of this incised vase, as also of a celt of basalt, certainly demands a later dating. The dolmen was found in a very mutilated condition, so that no deductions as to age can be drawn from its form.

represented by the eyebrows and nose, recalling the more developed owl-faced vases found by Siret at Los Millares.

While fragments of incised ware, evidently akin to the Palmella pottery, have been found in Portuguese dolmens, it has to be remembered that this class of pottery in Portugal is as a whole associated with finds in grottoes, as at Palmella[1] and Quinta do Anjo.[2] These grottoes are noteworthy, inasmuch as they bear a strong resemblance in point of form to the beehive tombs. They are artificially excavated in a soft limestone formation, and consist of a circular domed chamber approached by a passage of varying length. This passage is sometimes divided into more than one compartment separated by a constriction formed by leaving lateral jambs in the rock. A similar constriction separates the passage from the chamber itself. One example at Palmella, figured by

Fig. 13. Bowl from Quinta do Anjo, Palmella (after *O Archeologo Português*). ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Cartailhac, has a short descending ramp leading from the outer air to the blocked entrance of the chamber. The domed roof of the chamber in all cases reaches to the surface of the rock, leaving an orifice in the centre, closed by a slab. The close resemblance of these grotto-tombs to the beehive tombs and their occurrence in regions where the beehive tombs are not found suggest that they are the counterpart of those tombs, and to that extent contemporaneous. This is borne out by a comparison of the finds in the Portuguese grottoes and the tombs of Andalucia and Almeria. Although the pottery from south-east Spain may be of finer fabric, yet the forms are identical, since both the beaker and the round-bottomed bowl are represented by several examples.[3] One piece calls for special remark, namely a sub-conical bowl decorated with an incised zigzag pattern below the rim, and underneath this with a row of deer schematically

[1] **17**, 119, figs. 153-6.

[2] *O. A. P.*, xii, 212 and 331, figs. 279–87.

[3] e. g. *ibid.*, figs. 330 and 376.

drawn (fig. 13), recalling the vases similarly decorated found at Los Millares.[1] These grottoes also furnished numerous ribeirite beads and copper lance-heads, and also gold. Thus here the signs of the advanced chalcolithic culture met with in the Spanish megalithic tombs is confined to the grottoes, while it only occurs sparsely in the dolmens, as if still in its infancy. An interesting confirmation of this connexion between the artificial grottoes and the beehive tombs is afforded by a construction at Monge, near Cintra[2] (fig. 14). This, according to Ribeiro, consisted of a circular chamber connected by a short narrow passage with an open vestibule. In order to make the tomb, an excavation had been made into the granitic rock of the district, and in this excavation a chamber, 4·5 m. in diameter and 3.5 m. high, was constructed with layers of porphyry and granite blocks, corbelled in exactly the same way as the beehive tombs of Alcalar. The short passage was similarly constructed of dry masonry. In this tomb numerous sherds of Palmella type were found. Again at Folha das Barradas,[3] also in the Cintra district, an artificial grotto of Quinta do Anjo type cut in limestone had its chamber divided into burial compartments by means of thin slabs, recalling the similar arrangement in the megalithic tomb at Marcella. Amid grave-furniture closely comparable to that of the dolmen of Monte Abrahão, the pottery consisted of small undecorated vases, characteristic of the Portuguese dolmens as a whole. What appears to have been a tomb of 'tholos' type, unfortunately mutilated before it could be scientifically explored, was brought to light in the Serra das Mutelas, near Torres Vedras. Heaps of bones, some with skulls or parts of skulls atop, were found placed in positions suggesting removal to the circumference of a circular chamber to admit of other burials in the centre. Examples of limestone cylinders, which occur frequently in the megaliths and grottoes, were found near two heaps, so that possibly such a cylinder (eight in all were found) was placed at the head of each burial. The most important feature, however, of this tomb, was the discovery of a flint 'halberd', two tanged copper lance-heads, and a part of a beaker of pure Palmella type.[4]

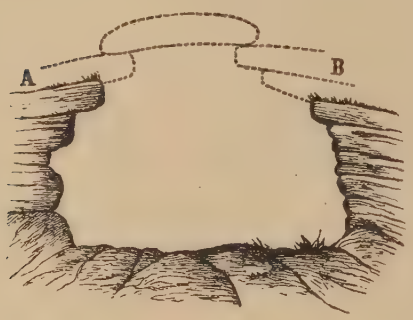

Fig. 14. Section of Tomb at Monge, near Cintra (after Ribeiro).

A comparison of these two tombs, the one constructed in a granite, the other in a limestone formation, is important, since it affords a clue to the system adopted according to the geological nature of the district, and thus explains the

[1] *Ibid.*, pl. xii, fig. 377.
[2] **10,** pt. ii, 74, figs. 75–9.
[3] *Ibid.*, 78, fig. 82.
[4] *O. A. P.*, xix, 265, figs. 1-6.

use of megaliths and small masonry in the Alcalar tombs, where the material consisted of sandstone and schist. Two subterranean galleried chambers similar to the Palmella grottoes were found at Torre in the province of Algarve, excavated in a limestone formation. The contents of one were poor in character, comprising flint arrows of triangular form with concave bases, a flint knife, bone awl, schist beads, and a small coarse vase containing traces of red colouring matter.[1] The occurrence of such a tomb in Algarve suggests a possible link between the Portuguese passage-dolmens and their successors, the grottoes and the beehive tombs of Algarve. The custom of burying in natural grottoes goes back to purely neolithic times, so that the fashioning of artificial grottoes is merely another phase of the tendency towards the construction of subterranean tombs, which finds expression elsewhere in the beehive and megalithic tombs. There is no need to regard the grottoes as a direct imitation of the beehive tombs.[2]

So far, therefore, the evidence points to priority in date for the Portuguese monuments, which, starting possibly from the simple polygonal type, follow on with the galleried dolmens, from which in turn are evolved, through such types as the tomb at Monge and a dolmen like that of Prado de Lácara, the artificial grottoes on the one hand and the whole range of megalithic tombs on the other.

The exact chronological relation of the *mamôas* of northern Portugal to the passage-dolmens is difficult to determine. Typologically they would appear to be the forerunners of the passage-dolmens, and the grave-furniture associated with them sometimes appears to be neolithic in character, but the presence of a tumulus entirely covering the monument and the small dimensions of many of the monuments seems to suggest that they occupy a similar position to many of the Geronese monuments, which are regarded as belonging rather to the category of cists than to that of true dolmens. If, however, this is not the case, they must either be regarded as humble imitations of the larger monuments of central Portugal by a poorer element of the population living in a less advanced state of culture, or we are confronted by the phenomenon that the earlier stages of megalithic building are only to be met with in the more northerly districts.

The question now arises, what connexion, if any, exists between the Portuguese megaliths and the series of monuments recorded from the Basque region and Catalonia? Professor Bosch considers these latter to be derived from the Portuguese polygonal type, and in support of his argument instances examples like the dolmen de la Font del Roure and that called 'Cabana Arqueta', Espolla, both of which he classes as polygonal.[3] A comparison, however, of the plans

[1] *O.A.P.*, ix, 173. The second tomb had been cleared prior to scientific examination.

[2] The relation of the artificial grottoes of Portugal to the dolmens of that area may be compared with that of grottoes of the Marne district to the French dolmens.

[3] **7**, 102.

of these two monuments with that of the dolmen de 'La Creu d'en Cubertella', Rosas, suggests that he is hardly justified in his contention, and that all three dolmens are no more than a somewhat ambitious modification of the simple rectangular monument which is known by numerous examples in the Pyrenean provinces. Even supposing that many of these monuments are in reality cists, the same cannot be held to be true of all the dolmens on the southern face of the Pyrenees. In their dimensions they in no way differ from many undoubted dolmens of southern France, where, taken as a whole, large megalithic monuments are rather exceptional. May it not be that this series of rectangular, or, as they are sometimes, trapezoidal dolmens stands in intimate relationship to the French megaliths? Professor Bosch shows that the culture represented by the Catalan dolmens appears as an intrusion amidst that of the caverns and non-megalithic graves of the same period. As already observed, the finds from these Geronese megaliths are sparse, but so many as have been unearthed bear marked indications of a chalcolithic date,[1] inasmuch as copper, sherds of beaker-vases, and amber have come to light. At the other end of the Pyrenees copper and fragments of beakers have appeared in similar monuments in Guipuzcoa and Navarra. In a dolmen near Anda a copper awl was found with over 100 skeletons.[2] This last monument, like those of Eguilaz, Eskalmendi, etc., is manifestly a true dolmen, as is proved by the enormous number of burials it contained. Since the dolmen of Eguilaz also yielded several copper implements, it becomes clear that not only the cists, if the identification is correct, but also the dolmens of this Pyrenean area belong to the full chalcolithic period. It may well be that Professor Bosch's connexion of these monuments through those of Asturias (Canga de Onis) and Galicia, the Galician series being closely akin to the Portuguese *mamôas*, is correct, but it cannot be regarded as otherwise than strange that the true type of Portuguese polygonal passage-dolmen should not have made its appearance, for instance, at Eguilaz. The more so, since a solitary example appears as far east as Guadalajara, near the head waters of the Tagus.[3] At the moment there exists a wide hiatus between the Portuguese and the northern Spanish series which future discoveries may possibly fill. But as far as our information goes at present, there seem to be no adequate grounds for postulating a direct connexion between them. The northern group of rectangular monuments finds its exact counterpart in the enormous series of megalithic monuments which form such a feature of southern France, and the very fact that the Spanish monuments are grouped round the two main highways from Spain to France,

[1] For Catalonia, see *ibid.*, p. 105 ff.

[2] **16**, xxviii, 78 f.

[3] Bosch in A. Schulten, *Hispania*, 149 n. A knowledge of the form of this dolmen I owe to Professor Bosch, who kindly imparted to me the information given him by the Marques de Cerralbo. The finds included an example of the arrow-head with lateral spurs, noted above as typical of the advanced culture of the Portuguese series.

with apparently a gap between the Basque and Catalan groups, seems to argue very strongly for this French connexion. It is certainly to that side that we must look for a parallel to such a monument as La Cova d'en Dayna at Romayna da Selva, for example in graves like that of de la Halliade, Basses-Pyrénées,[1] Couriac, Aveyron, with copper and amber,[2] and perhaps those of Pépieux and Laure in the department of Aude.[3] Hubert Schmidt has shown that, while megalithic architecture, the introduction of metal, and the beaker-vase occur contemporaneously in the south-west of Europe, elsewhere they appear as distinct phenomena, introduced at various times [4] and probably through diverse agencies. This would certainly hold good for France, even though they overlap at certain points. Is it not possible, therefore, that the occurrence of megaliths, manifestly for the most part belonging to a chalcolithic period, at the southern gates of the Pyrenees stand as witnesses to a mutual interchange of ideas between the dwellers on the northern and southern slopes, which would then have been responsible for the appearance in the dolmen de la Halliade of several beaker-vases, one at least of which is exactly similar in form to examples from the Iberian peninsula ?[5]

This particular influence from France extends no farther than the provinces immediately south of the Pyrenees, though the possibility of even more extended influence is suggested by the occurrence, as already noted, of amber in several finds in Catalonia and the south.[6] There is nothing inherently impossible against such a partial southward trend of the diffusion of the megalithic idea. As already seen, it seems to be true so far as Portugal and southern Spain are concerned, and the same has been well shown to be the case in Holland, where the Hünengräber of the north-eastern provinces prove to be intimately associated, both as regards their form and their contents, with the megalithic culture of northern Germany and Scandinavia, and not with that of France.[7] The solution of all these problems would seem to lie in the recognition in the peninsula of a series of true dolmens, probably polygonal in form, with grave-furniture of a neolithic type. Until this is done, the clue to the origin of the megalithic graves in this part of Europe will be lacking.

[1] *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme*, xvi, 528 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, xi, 513.

[3] G. Sicard, *L'Aude préhistorique.*

[4] H. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 57.

[5] Is a contribution from the French side due to some southward movement in connexion with the exploitation of Spanish copper and tin deposits, a movement which seems to become more marked with the appearance of brachycephalic skulls as a dominant type in Catalan cists of the full Bronze Age (**7**, 160) in contrast to the generally dolichocephalic population of the peninsula ?

[6] It is not known to the writer whether any of this amber has been subjected to chemical examination. If not, the possibility of its being of Mediterranean origin has to be borne in mind.

[7] Nils Åberg, *Die Steinzeit in den Niederlanden.*

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Note

In a memoir entitled *El Dolmen de Matarrubilla* (a beehive tomb near Sevilla), published by the Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas (Madrid, 1919), Professor Hugo Obermaier has with fuller knowledge of the discoveries of recent years published more detailed maps of the distribution of megalithic graves in the peninsula, one of which, in particular, shows a wider diffusion of the beehive tombs. To that extent some slight modification of certain points in the present paper may be desirable. In spite, however, of a somewhat novel presentation of the arguments in favour of an oriental origin for the Spanish and Portuguese megaliths, the whole problem seems to remain as obscure as before. The question of the Pyrenean series lies outside the immediate scope of Professor Obermaier's memoir. A recent journey in the north of the peninsula has tended to confirm rather than to weaken the opinions about the origin of that series advanced in the latter part of this paper.

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